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THE CHURCH AND COMMONWEALTH

THE CHURCH AND COMMONWEALTH

THE VISITATION CHARGES

OF

THE RIGHT REV. GEORGE RIDDING, D.D.
FIRST BISHOP OF SOUTHWELL

COLLECTED AND EDITED BY HIS WIFE

LADY LAURA RIDDING

3rd day of *January* 1896

George Southwell

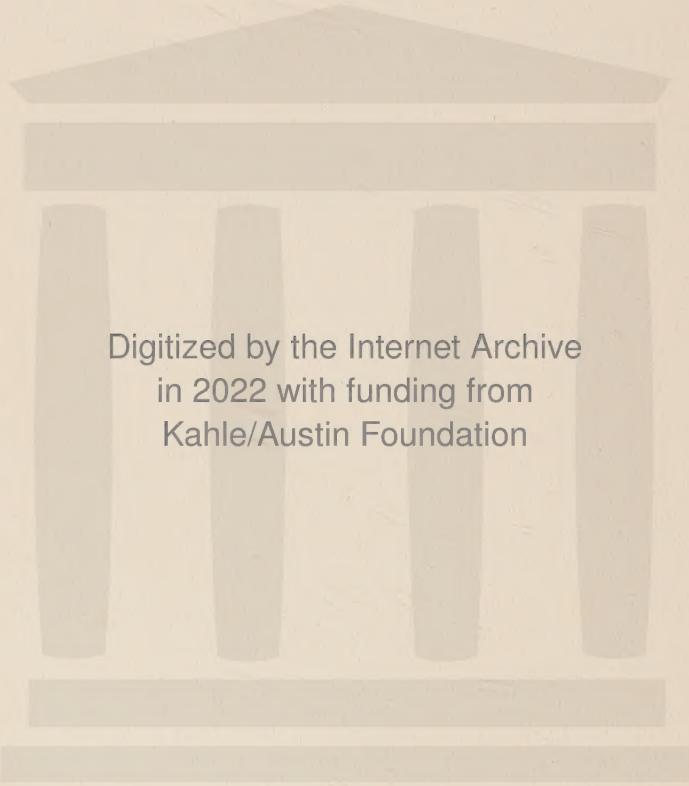
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EDWARD ARNOLD

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PREFACE

It had been for some time the intention of the Bishop to republish his Charges in a collected form, but he never had the leisure to do so. I believe, therefore, that I am carrying out his wishes in now reprinting them.

The exigencies of space have compelled me to limit the reprinting to those portions which touch on matters of general Church interest, and to omit his address to his first Synod of 1885, most of his address to his second Synod of 1889, and those passages in his five Charges which are of purely local or of temporary, though public, interest. But in the account of the Bishop's life and work, upon which I am now engaged, the information here omitted concerning the organization and ordering of the new Diocese of Southwell will naturally find a place.

Meanwhile, I hope that his searching study of some of the great questions which are perplexing men's minds may be welcomed by a wider circle of readers, as it was ever welcomed by his Diocese, which had learned to look to his wisdom, scholarship, and fearless faith as strong guides to follow through the difficult days in which we are called upon to live. He saw distant issues hidden from less penetrating minds; and now, when the Church he loved and served is threatened with a fresh attack, I shall feel thankful if his arguments and teaching on the value of the Church to the Nation serve (as they are still singularly fitted to do) to provide well-tested weapons for her defence.

LAURA ELIZABETH RIDDING.

March 16, 1906.

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THE Bishop left no memoranda shewing the sources of his quotations ; and although the Editor hopes that in most cases she has traced them, in some she has failed to do so, and in others she may possibly not have given the actual passage that was in his mind.

She is much indebted to the kind friends who have helped her in her editing.

SYNOPSIS OF SUBJECT-MATTER

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THE CHURCH AND COMMONWEALTH

THE PRIMARY CHARGE

THE CHURCH'S EFFICIENCY FOR NATIONAL SERVICE

PART I.—DELIVERED TO THE CLERGY OF THE DIOCESE IN THE
CATHEDRAL CHURCH OF SOUTHWELL, OCTOBER 11, 1887, BEING
THE FOURTH YEAR OF THE BISHOP'S CONSECRATION.

This charge began with an explanation, that the postponement of the Bishop's Visitation to various centres of the Diocese was unavoidable on account of the Diocesan Chancellor having resigned on his elevation to the Judicial Bench. After alluding to the Tithe Rent-Charge Bill, the Bishop said :

CHURCH LEGISLATION.

OF the Patronage Bill, I desire, of course, powers to prevent scandalous traffic in livings, if that can be done by law. The protest of publicity will probably discourage. But I can scarcely picture the processes of the Board Jury on fitness in a proposing purchaser. And without discussing the merits of private patronage, I think that only an impossible redemption could end it; so that its main features cannot be touched. On the other hand, public patronage, to which dioceses ought to be able to look for those improvements in Clergy system which would be most useful, is left in the Bill unchanged. And yet no point of private patronage, except a man's presenting himself, is in theory so bad as two kinds of public patronage. Ecclesiastical patronage ought to be diocesan, both for the positive reason that it should provide the machinery for moving men about, so as to suit men and places best, and also for the negative reason that neither will Bishop nor Chapter choose their best men to send away, nor will the

best men leave one diocese for another to take livings which, if in their own surroundings, might be most acceptable to them. The theory is against the choice of the best man for the living.

Again, the choice of men is modified by a secondary motive in the theory of co-optative trustee patronage, in the form into which it has been perverted. Contrary to the intention of the law, the system is perverted into one by which, if five men at a particular time held certain precise opinions, therefore a parish shall for all time be limited to those particular teachings, so long as five men hold them. To buy livings in order to limit teaching in them is more simoniacal than to purchase livings as property. Such untrue policy may seem shrewd, but it is really suicidal. It is a perversion of a law directed to a different object. But I speak of it as a wrong theory for patronage, as subordinating the one proper motive, that of choosing the best man, to a secondary object, agreement with original trustees' opinions. This theory has been mainly, if not wholly, adopted by one school of thought; but it may be adopted by other schools, and is, indeed, in process of being so adopted by others. I deprecate still more this counter-development. Such co-optation should be changed into election by those interested, with some official element joined. Good men—whether trustees, Bishops, or Chapters—may appoint excellent men; I am not criticising results. Many of those so appointed are men whom I should have been glad to have had left to me to appoint. But the theory limits the choice of men by other motives than that of looking for the best.

Leaving the other Bills before Parliament, I will speak on a point brought before me by some of yourselves, not, happily, as of diocesan interest, but as one of general Church interest—I mean the Trials about ritual which have led to some clergy being imprisoned. It is a happiness that no vexing trials have occurred in this Diocese. I am glad if the question has balanced to rest. But there are positions taken on the abstract question which I do not accept, nor does my judgment follow the usual lines.

I need not tell anyone here that imprisonment for using illegal ritual does not exist, nor that the penalty for that is

the natural penalty of suspension from office, ending, after certain prescribed times, in deprivation, in default of obedience to judgment. Imprisonment is not even a penalty for contumacy. It is only the ultimate necessary use of force and police to prevent the continuance of bodily acts ordered by law to be discontinued, when a person insists on continuing them till he is bodily prevented, as he must be at some time, whatever his form of disobedience be, unless the law is to succumb. Petitions against the imprisonment are ambiguous. They may mean that some other means of stopping should be employed, or they may mean that no stopping should take place, deprivation or immunity. People may combine in ambiguous petitions, who would not in distinct ones.

This is no doubt patent to you. But some points are regarded as aggravations of these trials which do not seem in the abstract open to complaint. 'He is a good man. His people wish it. The plaintiff is a stranger.' Now, in the abstract, supposing a question of Church importance, as is presumed, these conditions seem just the right ones—viz., freedom from personal motive or quarrel, and no aggravation of the issue from character or want of sympathy. The question is presumed to be, not parochial, but of general Church importance, and so the business of all Churchmen. Associations to maintain such points are, again, not so unreasonable as making individuals bear the charge. Advocacy of both sides is not a private but public duty. Only so can unsettled questions be tried on their merits. On these grounds I see no fault in the procedure in these trials, presuming, of course, that both sides believed the law to be on their side.

But it is another question how long and under what conditions such points should be brought to trial. In the abstract, no doubt, till the law is altered or shown to be obeyed. But in matters of religion (even those which do not affect freedom of conscience, but only official obedience) a country and time like ours are not of the temper to act fully on the Inquisition maxim, Persecute (or in our case prosecute) enough. Whether rightly or wrongly, the course must be this. Novel breaches will be prosecuted, and if they are wanton individualisms they will disappear. If they are

supported by character, reasons, uses, which carry weight, trials will test the reality of them, conflicts will make them understood, time will remove novelty, and the stage may come when their acceptance will justify the cessation of opposition, even if against a law, which will not be wisely insisted upon, though it may not be altered. I say 'if,' not as questioning decisions of Courts, but as recognising them, while I understand that resitants dispute them on the argument, that it is a false inference that an established custom in contradiction to a rubric proves the rubric to have been ordered anew by law. And certainly the inference (if only inference) is much weakened by the progress of the present ritual changes themselves, which have spread so rapidly in varying degrees, that we should be bound by parity of reasoning to infer that some new order or advertisement must have become law, had we not reason to know better.

Really, if I may so speculate without offence, I should say that the two periods of change were very parallel. Contact with the Continent brought England into contact with the striking novelties of European Protestantism, and when Papal errors and Papal aggressions were associated with the known Church externals of the time (though they were really not Roman, but belonged to the old English Church), the charm of the spiritual novelty of a spiritual religion, independent of the abused, suspected, and disabled externals, prevailed in the religious world ; and the earnest Puritan tendency spread like a wave and covered the land with churches stripped of the emblems or ornaments which seemed the embodiment of the Papal evils with which they had been associated in their later days. Now has come a second contact with the Continent, in our days of travel, when the miscellaneous body of hitherto absolutely insular Britons suddenly made acquaintance with the beauty, the art, the music, the decorations, of foreign churches (how many individuals we must each remember returning from such first acquaintance !), and the idea came, Why is none of this in England ? The travellers honestly felt themselves to be no more Papists in thought for the impression made by these effects. On the other hand, people were so often not spiritual enough to rise to old Puritan

earnestness in the old Puritan arrangements, that churches seemed dead and dreary and desolate and depressing. And where spiritual earnestness was alive and true, all the more the truth prevailed, when looked at by itself, that beauty is better than ugliness.

I speak, you see, not of the so-called High Church movement, which dwelt on rubrics and doctrines (its questions were disputed in another set of Trials), but of the ritual one, which is quite distinct, and which has been the subject of the trials in question, and is concerned only with externals. The movers in this believed themselves to find in the Ornaments Rubric an order prescribing what they wished to revive, and, having found it, stand upon obedience to that order; but their actuating motive was not, as in the former movement, conscience about rubrics, but wish for revival.

I do not speak of the validity of Courts. That has been dealt with by others, and has not been raised to me. If any men are strongly exercised by great constitutional principles in this matter, before discussing them, it is fair to ask what Courts they are prepared to accept. But I pass this at present, nor do I touch any graver mixed questions which may lie under externals. They are separate historically, and ought not to be confounded with them.

It is only of ritual points, and among them only of those which have passed through the ordeal of trial, that I say that in my opinion they are sufficiently adopted to make prosecution for them unreasonable.

I am glad to have had no such prosecutions to consider. I have only spoken of this subject because it has been brought before me by some of yourselves.

CHURCH DEFENCE.

I have spoken to many rural deaneries about Church defence. The situation remains. Agreeing as I do with everyone, that the one strength is to make the Church so valued by her own sons that they will maintain it; agreeing with every Churchman, that it is not for the Church to show why she should stand, but for others to show why she should not; agreeing that all knowledge about our Church is a proper part

of Church teaching, and needs to be improved, I differ from many on two points. If she is questioned, I desire a main argument to rest on the help that she is to Nonconformists. And if she is brought into politics, I desire that she be not attached to one party, but be made an Institution for the People, which, of all politicians, none should be so urgently required to support as those who are called on to support Institutions for the People.

I see that some Churchmen are advocating Disestablishment, because Church legislation has failed this session. But this year's Bills were all about property rights, and I do not know that, if disestablished, the Church could have dealt with them. Could I describe the process of making a Canon of which the substance was long settled, you might doubt whether Convocation is a more rapid legislature than Parliament. I observe with interest a Church plan for concurrent endowment, which draws outlines showing thought about the difficulties, but it gives no indication that concurrent endowment would be accepted, nor has it faced the details of settling which of the two hundred and fifty existing Sects deserve to be established. Concurrent endowment must always be attractive to men who dislike even the suspicion of having privileges, but it does not leave the nation the advantages of an Established Church.

THE NEW DIOCESE OF SOUTHWELL.

I will pass now to more immediately diocesan topics.

I have read with interest the encouraging charges of Bishops who have had to speak of the Church progress developed by the subdivision of dioceses. County Sees like Northumberland and Durham, Devon and Cornwall, Chester and Liverpool, show each separately, they tell us, as much result as their former double-countied dioceses did before. This See is not made by subdivision, but redistribution. Its reconstructive problems resemble those of Rochester most among the new sees, and Rochester, with only 300 parishes, all in small compass, but too much for its energetic Bishop from its growth of people, illustrates the truth that population is as great an element in diocesan charge as number of parishes. A large parish requires as much from a Bishop as many villages, and

it is growing towns, not stationary villages, which cause anxiety for their needs. In size and numbers together, this See just equals the present Diocese of Winchester, in population standing fifth in the Province, after London, Rochester, Worcester, and Lichfield, 82 of its parishes containing more than 4,000 people. Its area is not excessive, served as it almost wholly is by the two best railways of the country; and if one deanery could geographically belong to Lincoln and one to Chester, no one in these days could wish either county to be dismembered.

Only if this See has no results like Newcastle and Cornwall, we must remember that it is not a subdivided Diocese, but one that combines the old size with the complications of reconstruction—one constructed not because these counties were not well organized, well spirited, well satisfied, but for the sake of others. These counties go on unchanged, and happily not needing change in work or spirit, though they have suffered, with compensation not yet adjusted, the loss of their old centres and their old associations. One question cannot fail to be suggesting itself to you. If County Sees are felt to present the ideal scale, were it not well that even now these counties should begin their destiny, if not before, when they desired it, yet now, before they are too settled to wish to change again? Questions like this ought never to be personal ones, and as I have said of rural deaneries, still more is it true of dioceses, 'What is best' should be the only question.

* * * * *

Here followed remarks on the newly-formed Diocesan Conference and Council, and on the impressions received by the Bishop during his circuit through the Rural Deaneries. He then continued:

CONFIRMATION.

Were the statistics of the spiritual facts completely furnished from every parish either to our own Diocesan Calendar or to the general Church Year-Book, I should have only a very few, though great, questions to ask before my Visitation. I do not propose to ask any that have been now answered. But such statistics have their value, and though it is, of course, possible that these may be illusory, or even worse, it will, I believe, be a help—if only a small mechanical help—to every

8 THE VITAL IMPORTANCE OF CONFIRMATIONS

parish to have a record before it of its baptisms, confirmations, communions, day and Sunday scholars. As it is, I have no record in any degree of completeness, except of confirmations, which I am able to keep myself.

I observe it with interest, in the certain trust which I have, that there is nothing about which you will all be more rigidly careful than in the honest presentations of candidates for Confirmation. I observe it in the belief that none of our ordinances is of more consequence to our youth and to our people and to our clergy ; none that gives the clergy such opportunities of teaching and influencing, not only the children of families, but all the family through them ; none that tests and exhibits more the zeal and devotion of a pastor. I will not say whether this is more true in town or country, but in towns such training must be always going on, and in the country there is great temptation to let it drop through. And yet the small country parishes that are so tempted are those whose clergy groan for occupation, and it is dropping the spring out of the year for them to drop their Confirmation class, for the sole reason that their class would not be too large to deal with completely. Even Dissenters, who have been taught to think emblematic forms superstitious, and to dislike Bishops, often, after seeing a confirmation, wish to be confirmed themselves and their children ; and if they do not accept all that people tell them is held by us, they see what a noble spiritual education for years of discretion it desires and occasions. The proportion of our candidates is far below that of my old Diocese of Winchester, and is still below that one in a thousand annually which is reckoned the proper rule, but they show, nevertheless, a remarkable increase in proportion to the increased number of centres.

* * * * *

Here followed statistics of the condition of the churches, of the number of new churches and of restored churches in the Diocese, on which the Bishop observed :

CHURCH RESTORATION.

I know well that many clergy whose churches have been restored have had very hard work to get the money together. I know that many clergy have gone to depths of self-sacrifice

for their churches such as laymen do not imagine, and in some cases have a heavy debt at the end; and it is only human that the clergy of the exceptional parishes, that worship sadly in ruins, should shrink from risks of which they hear. But they must hear of great reward too, not only in the satisfaction of work achieved, but in the satisfaction of revived parochial life. I should be the last person to put church restoration as a parson's first interest. It is even conceivable that its interest might absorb attention from more irksome spiritual pastoral duties, and satisfy conscience with art instead of ministry. Nay! in some cases where reverence has clung to old forms and looks, I could, so far as Diocese and the whole Church is concerned, have been content that exceptions should remain untouched, not as specimens, but as witness that there were good men too, and good worship too, in shapes which the young now often count irreligious. Only a parish cannot be desired to refrain from what it sees helping others. I have no desire that a stranger should plunge, on his arrival, into a church revolution, 'to do something.' But church restoration is Church defence. A cared-for church makes a cared-for worship. To those outside it marks life—how differently from church ruins and churchyard wilderness beside a cared-for house and garden! To its own people the work is a bond of interest, and its result relief, help, and life.

* * * * *

After recommending that a record should be kept in each parish of the sums spent on church building and restoration, the Bishop stated the great amount raised for this purpose by parochial effort in the Diocese, and said:

These are figures which at this time may have a helpful thought for us. Supposing it indeed to be our prospect that the rapid advance of foreign products threatens to throw English incomes back to the scale of fifty years ago, what has been done in the times of inflated prosperity, in which the scale of house and living has been transformed for all classes, may encourage us. If we are to suffer a reverse fall, it will be truer not to impute to hostility or indifference what may be due to impossibility, but to try to estimate the necessary

10 WORKERS NEEDED MORE THAN SUBSCRIPTIONS

effect on public works due to the changes in private incomes, and consider what courses to adopt. The increase of small incomes means the increase of private comfort, which absorbs that increase readily with no margin. The margin of great wealth is the source of public works. The change is beginning to be felt, especially where coal or iron companies maintain curates, for whom they cannot furnish their old stipends. It is felt in country districts, where farmers 'must wait for better times,' and where the parson ceases to be able to keep everything going, as he has so often been wont. And behind farmer and parson stands the landlord, on whom so much has rested, but who now feels the depression fall chiefly on him. Our chief town businesses and our chief country businesses are also in adverse condition.

With this disheartening prospect before us, let us look back on what has been done in this generation while it could be, and be thankful for that. If our churches had not been repaired as they have been, we should be in a bad way. Now parishes may maintain them and their services. If money fails, it may cause the Church to turn to new strength, and call on true men and women for themselves. When silver and gold fails, she may have spiritual power to call them to 'rise up and walk,' to rise and give their work and hearts, and, if they cannot pay teachers, to become teachers themselves. Force is not all material, our men of science are avowing; mind and spirit is not yet calculable from molecular elements. When spirit is revived to call, does not spirit answer? Say, you who have no money, but who stir work and spirit! A poor Church may ask and find help that has hitherto been lost, and the very turn in her spiral of progress that may bring the greatest blessing may be the turn where want of money throws her upon men. Good work with poverty strangely finds even money come, when it is seen to need it and deserve it. Many who have not felt their own help needed may even find money when it depends on them. Great works may have to wait for individual munificence from the few whose wealth is stored, as great works have been already done by individual munificence.

Let the Church turn to enlist men and women to work for

God, and her work is done. Seek men and women rather than subscriptions, and when they value the work, they will maintain it for the work's sake—yes! and the labourer that is worthy of his hire. *Merses profundo pulchrior evenit.* Turn trial into progress.

MISSION ROOMS AND CHAPELS.

It may even be true that Necessity may be the mother of invention of methods even more adapted to an exact want of the time than churches of great size. Even those churches to hold 600, and cost £4,000 (which Mr. W. White, the architect, tells us is reasonable), may be too much for us, and we may have to acquiesce in mission rooms. I do not admit the least doubt that the parish church and its services deserve the parson's central care, and that all there should be so adequate that no one drawn to it should hear from its frequenters, 'You won't get much there.' But are our churches, that we have, overthronged, except on special occasions? One or two growing towns have outgrown their village church-room, and want churches. But generally the church-goers have room, and yet even small villages will have tiny meeting-houses.

Now if there is a definite difference of creed, I am not speaking of such cases. But where it means a congregation of poor people who only don't come to church because it does not suit their ways and knowledge, the Church will provide best for them, as she is bound, by rooms and teachers that do suit them. A Nonconformist circuit minister can compass half a dozen such meetings on a Sunday, after working hard all the week at his trade, and any number may be less physical strain than two services in a large church that tasks the full power. This is familiar to you, and I have said it before to you myself. What I say now is, that, if poverty drives us to meet the poor in poor ways that suit them best, that may be just the particular step which at this particular time we particularly need.

Another supplement for a different class, those who desire a chapel and a minister to manage, is the proprietary chapel: a very reasonable institution, and the one fitted for those who wish for private pews. Pew-rented churches are not for

12 FUNCTIONS OF MISSION ROOMS AND CHAPELS

parishes or districts where public subscriptions have built for the poor, and where the poor may be urged to come to church, and then find it is not for them. Let me distinguish. Churches have been built or have been endowed by individuals, who stand then like our old parish Founders, and like them have a claim to a Founder's place. It might also be the public interest of a parish, if some few leaders took on their own charges the church expenses or the curate's stipend, to assign to such special maintainers places in proportion to their great service to the parish. But ordinary pew-rents, equal, perhaps, to a single theatre ticket, can scarcely claim with reason a year's exclusive possession in a parish church. But in proprietary chapels this is different. There is nothing wicked in buildings for religion being raised by private money, even on mortgage and speculation on interest from pew-rents, like many Nonconformist chapels, though we cannot attach parishes to such buildings.

There are even failures in our parochial system which such chapels might meet, and serve as safety-valves for temporary circumstances. Such safety-valves are not needed in large towns, and perhaps are impossible in villages, though villages need some expedient oftener than towns. The one-parish towns of middle size are the sphere for them, and might at once meet the pew-holding feeling which survives, and supply the variation in services often desired, and provide teaching for a congregation of uniform education, by such supplements. There would be loss in them: all expedients must balance loss and gain. I don't think they are successful where they have been started at present. For now they are emasculated of the independence which could make them work. So far as the whole Church or whole Diocese is concerned, it would be better to let local sores wear out. But the parishes themselves will naturally not see this. Failures in the parochial system may be few compared with its successes, though the proportion may differ in the estimate formed by us and that formed by parishioners. If few, they are disastrous far beyond the parishes themselves. Some will say no less drastic cure than removal will meet the aggravating hopelessness attached to the permanence of a failure. I think such

palliatives as would be given by powers to authorize a separate curate and chapel would often meet temporary needs, while their independence would relieve the clergyman.

SUPPLEMENTARY LAY AGENCIES.

Lay agencies can, no doubt, be planted now in dormant parishes, but they, too, do not at present touch (except in hostile forms) any but the live ones, where they can work more happily and successfully. That is not all that is wanted. I wish all would read the life of Bishop Pavillon,* translated by Mr. Ledward, and see there the account of 'The Regents,' a movable Sisterhood, whom he planted about as needed, at first to the wrath, but then to the satisfaction, of many parish priests who had not known how to do their good work before. Such good women might be the easiest and best lay agency to use as supplements. I should like such a Regent Sisterhood to plant about where needed—with all considerateness, of course, and all hope of co-operation, but still to plant about where needed. A Bishop is expected to be able to keep parishes alive. He is set as third for parson and parish; and parishes ask why Bishop and parish may not together over-rule parson; as well as Bishop and parson can parish; or parish and parson can Bishop. The Parochial System, with all its good, is too much disabled by its failures, however few, not to be the stronger for some supplements and safety-valves less hostile than Dissent and deprivation.

If I present these weak points first, it is that we may turn with pleasure to the strong points in our parishes, the living, active majority. In living parishes no one can doubt that the start of activities from within is the best, as it is the natural outcome. Missions may be one part of the system. At times exceptional help may be called in, as the Church Army has been, in several parishes with good effect. But these will be, not as outside substitutes, but for the development of home activities. So long as the agencies are outside, the life has not begun. When the men of a parish have caught the spirit, the leaven is working and will work. Where thirty colliers

* 'The Life of Nicholas Pavillon, Bishop of Alet' chiefly translated from the French. London, 1883.

are teachers in the Sunday-school, parish religion will affect home and club and public-house. Where men are bringing others in to church, to choir, to guilds, to societies for temperance or education, and are themselves by word and life preachers of honesty, and kindness, and holiness, the body is alive. Till then life is too much outside.

Church work, it cannot be too often repeated, is the spread of temperance, and purity, and honesty, and kindness. I should like to know the agencies in each parish, to promote mental, moral, and social advance, and then to know what help they can and do derive from joining as branches to Diocesan Societies. I hail with satisfaction the advance of the Church of England Temperance Society in the Diocese, and desire to hear of parochial branches of it being established everywhere. The belief in temperance as the truer and more manly and womanly life has, I trust, caught hold; and if so, it is a leaven that will spread, as it has in educated society, and the next generation will sweep drunkenness away from all but the desolate, the desperate, and the degraded. For this I welcome specially Bands of Hope, still more if connected with school and education. I am glad to know that our largest towns have begun branches of the Church of England Purity Society; and that young men in such towns, like men of their age in Army and University, have set themselves straight to think of fidelity to their future homes, of regard to the sacredness of marriage, of chivalrous respect for women, and the Christian law of purity for the temple of the Holy Ghost. The unnatural crowding of life into our towns seems to make vice ferment, and towns of mill-hands like ours present a special freedom and a special slavery of women, which both call for special regard from us.

Factories have organizations to make their workshops training-schools, and whether they train for good or evil is a responsibility to their heads equal to that of any officer, teacher, or pastor. The blessing of a true sense of this responsibility is not unknown in some great houses of Derby and Nottingham, and we may fearlessly appeal to their examples, whether happiness and character do not bear their fruits of loyalty and work. But I desire to commend specially

at this time to you, what I trust that you will value and support in your towns and villages, as promising to supply a help desired by women-workers for the Christian elevation of women, in a Woman's League which we hope now to begin, to bind women of all classes (who have positions of responsibility, as parents, managers, teachers, social centres), to maintain and promote laws of Christian morality inculcating the sacredness of marriage, and basing on chastity the happiness of Christian homes, which seem often to drift into infamy from sheer ignorance. Is it not the special advantage of a married clergy that a parson with his wife and home ought to be able to enforce—one on the young men, the other on the young women, and both on the homes—the sanctity of marriage and what that means before and after, and the honour and happiness of well-ordered families and homes?

For our army of young work-hands without homes, much may be done in two great lines. The success of 'Evening Homes' and Recreation-rooms and classes, such as have been so active in Nottingham, and now are happily started in Chesterfield, and beginning in Ashburne, show how civilization and friendship help ignorance and lonesomeness. They might well support themselves when times were normally good in any town, though as yet they must live on very devoted care and wise direction to make them what they mean to be, the civilizing substitutes for home. Then, again, the welcome which I have seen given by young men to lodgings managed on high lines suggests that enterprise based upon that welcome might be developed advantageously, and provide both for young men and young women some of the brightness and society which our homes give us, and which co-operation might be able to provide for the masses of work-hands, who, singly, have to submit to the accommodation and terms which they can get. Such boarding-houses might even be the most convenient schools of domestic economies for the girls who now rush into marriage with no sense of its duties or knowledge of home requirements, and make thriving homes instead of a deteriorating proletariat. In these two lines our towns may aid what home ought to supply, though, alas! it is often true that home most hinders.

What towns do by organizing societies, country has to do by personal friendliness; and the visits of sewing and other classes at the parsonage are delightful links to see, as I rejoice to see often, made for that individual influence and intercourse in which the country clergyman, his wife and house, may find their satisfaction. For high and low, rich and poor, sanctity of marriage and love in home are the aims most worthy our preaching and influence. Are we set on them? And training the young to them? When our consciences are satisfied that every young person has had full chance of learning, and sins against knowledge, penal abandonment of the fallen to their fate may present some reasonableness. As things are, each heart interested in helping the good must be touched to restore the fallen and rescue those in danger. A Woman's League to maintain Christian morality would normally be concerned with happy innocence. As things are, when sympathies are stirred, they would have among their first calls to provide penitentiaries and houses sufficiently graduated for rescue and prevention work. No town ought to be without a refuge lodging and an association for such help. To repeat a former word, if parishes spend all their offertories on church service expenses, till they have no aid for such church work of Christian philanthropy, will they not be 'broadening phylacteries and neglecting the weightier matters of the law'?

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EDUCATION.

Of our established education I have not much to say of any special kind. National schools owe two debts of gratitude to the School Boards: the increased support indirectly caused by fear of them, and the improved standards of requirements and efficiency which they make necessary, and therefore possible. No greater advance has been made during the last fifty years than that due to the Education Acts, none of more help to popular well-being. The Church did what it could, and most of what was done before. But it is the Nation's business, and

we must rejoice that the Nation has recognised this. We can remember how changed all elementary schools alike have been, owing to its models and requirements.

In regard to religious education, or school lessons in the Bible and religion, we may easily exaggerate the opposition to this in School Boards. School Boards are more and more admitting it. But suppose they do not, the better children can read, the more easily they can read the Bible. Get them to read it at home as a book, as you do your own children, and their reading will be more than school lessons. To learn to read any book well is more help to reading the Bible well than learning reading in the Bible. Creed, Catechism, and Prayer Book should be taught in sermons, and catechizing brought into close connection with Sunday-school teaching. Many young clergy may often be better suited for such mental sermons than for moral and spiritual exhortations, on which experience fits them to speak more excellently to young men than to others. Let us keep Church schools to give school lessons in religion. But let us not speak as if those lessons were our whole religious education. The next generation will double the effect of our educational advance, when mothers who have learnt can teach their children to read and write, and fathers care about it. But even now the power of reading ought to be a great instrument. Let parish libraries provide not-over-tracty books that boys and men would enjoy; and reading children might give pleasure to cottage home-life of more value even than the knowledge, or even than the newspapers, which have supplanted agitators in clubs that read. Circumstances change gradually the limitations and hard lines necessitated when the new system began. Meanwhile, let us acknowledge the good done by the new system to our own schools, even when we have time and feeling to enjoy the privilege of teaching our school-children ourselves. How many do? I find a much smaller proportion than I expected doing it regularly.

To end as I began, let us see that our religious education train temperance, chastity, honesty, and kindness, and send our scholars to the Word of God and the House of God for these; but know that the human instruments to teach them

are God-fearing and well-living parents, teachers, clergy, masters, and neighbourhood.

I hope that it will not be thought beyond my province to-day to ask your interest in something beyond elementary education. The clergy ought to be forward in promoting those links which ought to connect all classes in the best education suitable for each child. To open passages from lower to higher grades of schools, to develop the same schools for our middle class (especially for the poorer part) that the rich have, to bring University culture into reach locally to those who cannot go to the Universities themselves, ought to be objects of interest to an educated clergy. I do not mean by this merely to urge you to develop distinctive Church schools for the sake of rearing Churchmen. Distinctive schools will be the strongest, and rearing consistent Churchmen is good, and is our duty to the Church of which we are ministers. But it is a truer and higher range for clergy thought to rise above any recollections of these more special objects, to see the true Church work of bringing all minds to the best knowledge of their age, of training thought with utter sincerity, especially of helping ability in the poor to share the highest culture which circumstances admit. No greater new world is open for the Church than this. In frank, large-hearted aims at the national good she will sow her truest spirit and reap her truest regard.

CHURCH SERVICES.

I must not leave the notice of parishes without reference to the returns made to me about the system of services. The chief pleasure to me in the services in which I have taken part, has been to see at my confirmations the stalwart men not half an hour up from the pits or from their business, ready in the choir, not as men only there on occasion, but at home, and as much set upon a good service as the clergyman. Such choirs are revivals as much as restored churches. I do not, I must say, myself see why women are not to join their help. I know the old difficulties, and I would not place

women in false positions, or march them in processions; but careful arrangement may combine both sets, not of voices only, but of souls, in reverent help in the choir. However, choirs are only to lead the congregation, and the best arrangement for this office must be a discretionary matter in each church. It is a pleasure to hear the full hymns that prevail, and the increasing share allotted to hymn-singing. Where there is chanting, it is a pleasure to hear how generally reverent attention to the words has superseded the mere flourish of sound, which threatened to rob the aged poor of ever hearing the Psalms, which are their greatest spiritual treasure to know by heart. It is a pleasure to hear how generally the prayers, when intoned, are recited, not in the gabble once thought musical, but with the careful utterance that can lead and help the congregation to join, and not leave them as no business of theirs. It is a great pleasure to find so many mission services earnestly trying every means to bring in and teach and help the multitudes, who have been out of reach of Christian influences.

I can, of course, only speak of those churches which I have been in, most of which have invited me—*i.e.*, of two-thirds of our parishes.* I hope that opportunities may soon enable me to speak in similar terms of the remaining third. Most of the small churches as yet, owing to size or situation, unvisited give every indication to make me sure of it. Exceptions have, indeed, been presented to me, in a very few cases, of good men failing in sympathy to their best parishioners; in more where weariness or depression or some unhappy circumstance has reduced Church life and service, and the Church is not the true centre that it ought to be. I trust that the sense of being exceptions may revive a new effort to recover the past or begin a future in them. I do not speak of difference in forms and methods: failures and success are not made by that difference. I mean spiritual earnestness, spiritual activity, and spiritual sympathy.

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* The Bishop then spoke of the parishes in which he had officiated at services. He had visited every parish in Notts except twelve, and every parish in Derbyshire except thirteen.

Here the Bishop referred to the statistics of Church services, and of the number of parishes, churches, mission rooms, and chapels in the Diocese. He spoke of the work of Nonconformists in the colliery and Peak districts, of the division of the See, and of losses by death among the clergy. He ended thus :

My brethren, all things call us and cheer us. The struggles to revive have been fought for us. We are welcomed, we are desired to work and enter into the full possession of the vineyard. Can there be sluggards still left, when we and all, even those outside that once were sneering critics, rejoice that the Church can do her work? Encourage one another, help one another.

The Epistle for this week puts words in my mouth which St. Paul could utter to the whole Church of Corinth, and which may surely be as fittingly addressed by me to you, my brother ministers of the Church.* I thank my God (how often, as I visit town after town, village after village) for the grace that is given you by Jesus Christ, that Christian ministers, whose every word and every knowledge is enriched by Him, by His Spirit and life, by all the new wealth of thought and feeling and power which Christian faith has added, are set among the people; lacking no gift, no Spirit, your witness to Christ made good, wherever you bear it, by every gracious influence; men waiting to see Christ revealed, waiting to see your people know Him as you have known Him; and as He will keep those who have known Him through life and through death, ready to pass trial before His judgment-seat, and to be called to enter into the joy of their Lord.

* 1 Cor. i. 4-8.

THE PRIMARY CHARGE

PART II.—DELIVERED IN SECTIONS AT SOUTHWELL, APRIL 13 ;
DERBY, APRIL 14 ; NOTTINGHAM, APRIL 16 ; RETFORD,
APRIL 17 ; CHESTERFIELD, APRIL 18 ; BAKEWELL, APRIL 19 ;
GLOSSOP, MAY 7 ; AND ASHBURNE, MAY 8, 1888.

RESPONSIBILITY OF CHURCH LEADERSHIP.

THE special character of a Visitation is that it brings together the two bodies of Church officials, the clergy and the churchwardens, the chosen representatives of the lay parishioners. It brings home to us that the life of the Church depends upon the realization by both orders of the truth that their work must be a united one, and that the responsibility attached to Church leadership attaches to both orders, and requires that lay as well as clerical officers of the Church shall be indeed leaders in spirit and character worthy to be examples to the flock of Christ. The first Gospel lesson read in this circuit of Visitation put as our spiritual introduction,* ‘Take heed and beware of hypocrisy,’ the persuasive power of reality. Leaders and officers of Christ’s Church must be no actors, no bearers of mere official commissions, but present a character which is, and is known to be, real and true, as indeed examples of Christ’s Church.

I delivered in the autumn a general Primary Charge to the clergy, and I shall on this occasion, therefore, speak rather of the questions more particularly belonging to this Visitation.

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* St. Luke xii. 1.

After speaking in detail on the special duties of churchwardens as guardians of the Churches and Church properties, and on the importance of their being legally admitted to office, the Bishop said :

THE CHURCH'S EFFICIENCY FOR NATIONAL SERVICE.

Two subjects of weightier and more spiritual character arise out of my Visitation questions, not unconnected with each other, but such as can be dealt with separately.

One, the adequacy of our Church's machinery in men, in buildings, and in organization for doing her office.

The other, her relation to Nonconformity, and the difficulties arising from it.

These matters rise in magnitude to a difference of degree that makes the sentiment attached to them attain a difference in kind. Material interests may be still involved in them, but they are interests affecting the whole Church, and their policy belongs to that spiritual domain. In this, questions of property and discipline must be approached by the Church from the side of their spiritual import. She may have, from time to time, to stand up for rights and property committed to her trust, but her success will depend upon her character in doing so. Not personal interests, but means to do her office and duty to her trust, must be manifestly shown to be the object really in her heart.

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THE CLERGY DISCIPLINE BILL.

Let me speak on the Clergy Discipline Bill. The great improvement of this year's Bill is that it separates two questions distinct in character, and requiring different procedure; and, putting aside all questions of ritual and doctrine, deals only with criminous clerks. We must sound almost bloodthirsty sometimes in our zeal to free the Church from those few poor, unhappy men, who cause by scandals infinitely more harm than they can imagine about themselves; and I would, therefore, point out that such Bills are also Bills of Acquittal, and that whatever gain it would be to expedite punishment to the guilty, much more must we desire to expedite acquittal for the innocent. A clergyman stands in

an unique position ; and that position makes a special reluctance to bear testimony against sins or scandal which would cast out not only him himself, but his wife and children often too, from the position in which they are known ; but this position also sometimes makes enemies even by the man's virtues, and personal dislike or difference of opinion are not always careful to avoid slanderous imputations, the effect of which can only be removed by public acquittal. On consideration of this must be regulated one main point of policy in dealing with these cases—how near home and before what judge such trials should be conducted.

The proposed Bill has two objects—First : to facilitate proceedings. Second : to restore the ecclesiastical character of the Courts.

Since the Bill was criticised at some of the earlier Conferences of this Visitation, such explanations and amendments have been issued as to present the Bill in a materially different aspect. The outline of the changes proposed are now as follows : The Preliminary Commission that has hitherto been issued by the Bishop is abolished. It still rests with the Bishop to determine whether there is a *prima facie* case for hearing. If he thinks there is, the case must come before a diocesan Court, and cannot, as at present is the practice, be sent straight to the Court of Arches by letters of request, which this Bill abolishes. Four forms of diocesan Court are provided :

(1) The Bishop, when both parties concur. (2) The Chancellor, who would form the ordinary Court in cases where there was no such assent. (3) In cases which the Bishop thinks specially grave, the Bishop with two legal assessors, intended to be lawyers of eminence. (It must be remembered that all diocesan Chancellors are not lawyers.) (4) A defendant may claim to be tried by a Court composed of the standing Commissioners of the Pluralities Act Amendment Act. Under conditions, which will probably imply a want of unanimity about the verdict, the case may be reheard by the Bishop's direction. From the diocesan Court there may be appeals (not for either party on facts) for both parties on points of law, for the defendant against the sentence, first, to the Court of Arches, and second, to the Privy Council. So

there will be but one trial of the case itself—*i.e.*, that before the diocesan Court.

The second object of the Bill is attained in two ways : (1) The Judge of the provincial Court is to be appointed simply by the Archbishop. (2) Sentences determined by any of these Courts are to be remitted to the Bishop to pronounce. It is thought that the Bishop would have the power of discretion about pronouncing such sentence—but this is questionable.

In these points regulations of the Canons will be revived. This is believed to meet the general wishes of the clergy ; and though it must be a question whether the obligation of the clergy to obey the canons implies a privilege to disregard judgments of laymen who are under no such obligation, because they have not observed them, their satisfaction with the Courts that are to try them is necessarily of the greatest importance.

Without dwelling upon any alleged constitutional rights of a special kind, it may seem reasonable to laymen that such spiritual sentences as displace from the ministerial office, should be placed in ecclesiastical jurisdiction, on the same principle that makes a barrister convicted of civil offences which are contrary to the code of his profession, liable to be disbarred only by the Benchers of his own profession, and a medical man to be disqualified by judgments of the representatives of his profession. But it seems of only secondary consequence in cases of criminous clerks that the judges should be ecclesiastical, and the Bishop have a preliminary veto, whatever it may be, in cases of doctrine and ritual.

The Bishop here spoke of the church building and restoration carried out in the Diocese, especially of the restoration of the Cathedral, of its unique and peculiar position among the new sees, of its position with regard to the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, and its chief office to be a force for diocesan unity. He then said :

THE CHURCH AND NONCONFORMITY.

I desire now to turn your thoughts to a still wider range of union—that created by our position as a National Church. It has been said that ‘Establishment is a cause of schism.’

I believe the exact opposite to be the truth. The settled and constitutional condition of the Established Church is a great force which does, in fact, keep together within it a wide variety of intellectual qualities and opinions, of spiritual and social powers, such as can only exist when independence within wide limits is guaranteed; but, where it can exist, has a richness of strength and completeness in the manifold variations with which it represents the great central type. The facts of our Church at present witness incontestably that this rich and strong variety is possible for us, and that it is due to what is called 'our Establishment'—that is, to our settled constitution.

On the other hand, where we can observe the opposite principle in operation, we find no power of cohesion strong enough to overcome the continual tendency to repeated subdivisions in the bodies which have flung away from a restraining hold of the central Church. The facts of Nonconformity witness incontestably that the centrifugal force of uncontrolled individualism which first separated sects from the one Body has continued, and experience proves it to be a power of disintegration into smaller and smaller atoms, which can never be reunited but by the acceptance of some controlling limitations, such as those furnished by the established constitution of the Church. Individuals may have separated from the Church from personal dislike of the Establishment, as from any other personal dislike to any other tenet; but that is not the meaning of 'Establishment is the cause of schism.' The opposite is shown to be true by the facts of the Church and Nonconformity alike.

It has been a great satisfaction to me, in going about my Diocese, to meet constantly so large a number of clergy of widely different views, earnest and independent men, and to find such freedom from divisions among them, either in our general gatherings or in personal quarrels and discords. This Christian regard for each other's opinion, this open candour in the expression of our own, this increasing goodwill to work together in our great common warfare, constitutes a great strength of the Church in our Diocese. On the other hand, we cannot exaggerate the loss to the great Christian warfare

caused by the want of unity between the Church and Nonconformists. Its disastrous effects are patent everywhere, but are especially marked in our great towns like Nottingham, and in our mineral districts of the counties. The principal evil, no doubt, is the distraction of spirit, which wastes the energies of good people upon divisions; which, but for those divisions, would be devoted to the great duty of Christians, the warfare against sin and misery.

But I will put before you two special forms of this disastrous result. But for these divisions, who can doubt that a united national call would have been made upon the wealth created by populations massed in great centres of mines or manufacturing, to provide from the unearned increment of that property for the spiritual needs of the population which creates that wealth and is created by it? But for these divisions, who can doubt that the great national system of education, so urgently required to advance the standard of knowledge above the elementary level which popular indifference had made the highest possible for voluntary schools before, would have been made on lines which the religious parents of England have always valued and do still desire, of a system which would have kept the knowledge of religion and the training of character in the fore-front of its aim?

People speak sometimes as if this was all the fault of the Church. But this is not true; and these are times when the Church ought to assure herself, and to assert that it is not true that it is all the fault of the Church. There may be indeed cause, when the ever-recurring spirit of rigid uniformity rises against the perplexities of variety, to remember that the times when the lay people imposed rigid uniformity were the times when too tight fetters cramped some into apathy, and galled others into rebellion: the two causes of schism.

It may be well when men desire to enfeeble the Church's men, and to bring the clergy under close lay control, to remember that the times when the clergy 'were passing rich on forty pounds a year,' and had to dance attendance upon patrons and serve as great men's chaplains, were the times when the Church had least spiritual power against vice, and good men craved most a spiritual system free from bonds of State control.

It may be well when sober, quiet, ordinary people, in their love of regularity, fret against novel and sensational methods, to remember that it was from times that checked enthusiasm that sprang the highest of all the spirits of schism in the desire for some revival to awaken life. It may be well for the Church to remember these things ; but if we turn to the history of the sects that have parted from our Church, the biographies of the two founders of the two principal sects tell very distinctly, in their very similar stories, that it was individual waywardness of spirit that could not tolerate any divergency from their own exact methods, from their own exact opinions, that made both the Rev. Robert E. Brown (the founder of the Independents) and the Rev. John Wesley, both denounce control at home, both try to dragoon America into absolute submission to them, both be driven back home as intolerable tyrants, and both end with a sense of mistake and yearning, in which one died after all as a parson in a Church of England living, and the other bequeathed to his followers his last charge that they should not separate from the Church of England.

It is not true that all our schisms have been the fruit of the highest motives, or have been due to faults in the Church of England. That they were schisms is simply a fact of history. The Church was the Church of the whole Nation, from which Romanists, Independents, and the other sects divided. Of those, at least, who make the Bible their standard and authority, it may with reason be asked : ‘ Does not the Bible condemn schism ? ’ Of others it may be asked : ‘ What good has come of it ? ’

But when this is said, we shall still bear in mind that the present Nonconformists have been born into an inheritance of separation. We shall have reasonable regard for their having received a tradition. We shall honour the Christian work done by their religious members. We shall desire that one fold may again, in God’s good time, be re-established ; but, meanwhile, we shall have rather to consider our own part and duties in the position that exists. We feel, as I have said, especially in our great mining and manufacturing populations,

the hindrance of opposing sects; and true as it is that when their populations grow by leaps and bounds, suddenly, with no preparation, the resources of village churches and clergy cannot possibly rise at once to supply ministrations for which there is no provision, it must be borne in mind, and is the answer to the great employers of labour who complain that Church deficiencies have put the Church out of all claim to her position, that those very employers might themselves have enabled the Church to do her office for their people, and they are the persons responsible for her inability to do it.

But our part in this must only be to follow the truest and highest methods. Churchmen will not now desire to bribe or to coerce into the Church. Such things have been, and many of you now feel sore that others now follow the same false methods to your hindrance; but such methods have not in them the ultimate principles of success. Methods themselves untrue will, in the end, bring the fruits of their untruth. True work in the Church, and true spirit in the pastor, must be our instruments. The devotion that gives its life for the sheep, the sympathy that knows its sheep and is known of them, will be the spirit of the Master that can make one fold.

You ask me how far clergy can co-operate with Nonconformists. The principles seem plain to me. There is much Christian philanthropy where men have no sense of differences. It may be personally difficult to forget them, but Christian earnestness in a good cause may well bring men and women to work, as citizens of a great brotherhood, together for temperance, for purity, for thrift, for social improvements, for recreation-rooms, for hospitals, and other like causes which do not touch upon divergences of worship or religious system. One practical limitation there is here: work that tries spirits most, and needs the power of earnest prayer to carry hearts through its strain, cannot be jointly carried on by those who cannot join in the prayers of the same deep earnest belief; where that cannot be, better work apart for the work's own sake.

But it is different in the questions of actual worship and system. For a clergyman has his distinct Commission. He

may not choose from any feeling of his own to be disloyal to that. It cannot be ignored that the Nonconformist systems exist against our Church. To take part in services constructed in opposition to the Church of which he is minister, and in buildings erected simply to promote that opposition, is in my judgment entirely inconsistent with a clergyman's position, and is a plain violation of the canons which are to him the laws of his profession, and which as a main principle, forbid him to promote schism.

Our truest work for unity will be to do our own work to its best, and make the Church felt to be really of value to our people. For this, the Church must be understood, her services must be inspiring, her agencies must be adequate, but, above all, her pastors must be true.

THE CHURCH AND HER MINISTRY.

The feeling that the Church has not been understood has made the Lower House of Convocation draw up twelve questions and answers on what our Prayer Book states about the Church and her ministers. It must be distinctly understood that these questions have not the authority of Convocation, but are drawn for the guidance of teachers, to whom our Catechism gives no explanation of the Holy Catholic Church, in order that such catechists may have some more general authority than their own individual opinion to warrant their explanations. They are the aids and advice of a body of experienced representative clergy of varied schools of thought. Drawn in positive forms, with no excluding terms, they give no ground for the objection raised against them, that they 'unchurch' people by teaching not already stated in the Prayer Book. They are not now—as, perhaps, at first—proposed to be added to the Church Catechism or the Prayer Book, but are presented by the Lower House of Convocation of Canterbury as its 'Aids against the prevailing ignorance about the Church and her Ministers.'

It seems especially hard in small villages to create an idea of the Church as something apart from the parish. For that very reason I will suggest that this isolation makes them the very sphere in which it may help to raise their imagination of

the greater life of the Church, by taking them to the scale of Church range the most opposite to their village parish, if you bring before them at this time the Lambeth Conference to be held in July. Two hundred Bishops are gathering to this small Island from every part of the great British Empire; and far beyond its borders from Churches in every grade of dependence and connection with the Church of our own land; from Churches among the civilized nations of heathendom, or among the still savage tribes of the world; from all kinds and conditions of Christian life and work they are gathering hither as to their centre. And for what purpose? To confer together for the promotion of unity and quickening of sympathy, and for the realization of strength in the unity of the Spirit. Present this great fact to your villagers. But you will ask me, 'How can we make such a fact or idea real and practical to our people?' My answer may seem to some imaginative, to some unreal, but to many of you I know it is very deeply in your hearts already. Summon them to intercessory prayer for each other, for the greater interests of the Church, for its aims and associations, and at this time specially for this great Lambeth Conference, that it may tend to greater unity, to elevation of life, to purer and clearer truth.

And just as we see that spending trouble or money upon others does by its very self-sacrificing spirit make them objects of real interest to us, so do we find that praying for others' welfare and needs brings them very close to our heart. Intercessory prayers will form a strong bond between our people, and a powerful instrument for the elevation of the Christian spirit of loving unselfishness. Prayers for the Church in her larger ranges will enlarge our villagers' sense of membership in it.

And yet this sense must rest most constantly upon what is ever present there in the Church; and in this it is but an example of what is also true of our Church services and pastoral administration. The Special and the Regular are two halves that must not exclude one another. For both Church services and pastoral work we shall be wise to use special opportunities; but in both alike the constant background must be the regular services and work. Use with such

counsel and sanction as is wise the various methods, the varied agencies, the varied forms of service which may tell with stirring freshness, where those outside need such approaches ; but be it yet remembered that the substance of your Church system of worship must be the regular and earnest maintenance of our appointed Liturgy to those within our Church who look for it.

So, too, in pastoral work, follow the leads given from time to time, by thoughts and impulses in the mind and heart of your people. The waves of Christian thought move now on one line, now upon another. Now it is temperance, now it is improvement of social relations ; at one time justice, at another purity, that has its tendency and movement on which a real fresh start in Christian progress may be made. But even the leading power that can see and use these successive opportunities will not prevail without that constant background of confidence which is only created by the loving daily routine service of a pastor, ever present among his people as their teacher, their helper, and their friend.

How shall our churches draw their people into them ? Is there not one consent from all our churches now ? The worship and the teaching of our own Church is what our people want and wish in its best fulness and reality. In worship and teaching she stands in the midway between a system of mechanical and material sacraments, with the teaching that one man can bar another from communion with God ; and the Calvinism that makes religion unmeaning, and morality impossible, and human life a mechanical evolution from conditions imposed on individuals by a Divine favoritism. The Church of England, standing between these two extremes, upholds the truth embodied in that Parable of the Sower which was to interpret all parables about the spiritual life of man ; the double truth of the seed and the ground, of man's ultimate dependence on God on the one hand, and on the other the responsibility of man ; the need and reality of grace, and yet the limitations of its power by the prepared fitness of the soul itself.

For teaching and for worship, the preparedness of the souls

for whom they are provided must ever be wisely and truly regarded, or things, however good, will fail of usefulness and fruit. But two points are established everywhere in our people now. The whole teaching of our Prayer Book's course of Bible doctrine, and not one or other special points or texts, is claimed by them from their preachers; and the full worship of our Prayer Book: not only sacraments, not only preachings, nor only prayers and hymns, but all in their full place—all in the full place prescribed by our Prayer Book, all with loyal regard to our Prayer Book rules, and all with the English spirit of reality, which is put out by what seems mere trivial show, but which values the help of earnest reverence, exchanging beauty, self-denial, and solemnity in Church for dreariness, selfishness, and slovenliness.

On such reverence, too, will the Church expand widely to freer mission services of less set order for her more outlying and less organized and instructed people, who do need help in more elastic forms of worship, and in more homely ways, addressed and fitted with human sympathy to the real wants of the congregation at each time gathered.

For all this the clergy must be the centre. And our chief aim should be to have more clergy, and to strengthen our societies and resources for providing them. Yet there is gain in other agencies—a double gain for helper and helped. We have many helps in Sunday-schools, in visitors, in clubs, in government of all kinds. But are our agencies sufficient for bringing in our people? It is, I know, thought both in Nottingham and in our mineral districts that there is great need of some new supplemental system of churchworkers, especially for teaching, additional to the clergy. Much of the power needed may, I think, at least in our large towns, be created by the combination of workers in all lines in one association, which might guide the service of each person, and show the great strength there is among us if we would only put it forth and use it to the best purpose, and where it is most needed.

In Nottingham an express desire has been stated for some definite authorization for an extended organized system of laymen to take part in teaching and preaching in mission rooms,

etc. Now, first, it is clear that any Christian man who will speak to his neighbour on the love of God and the service of Christ can go *unsent* to help his brother without let or hindrance. But it is another matter, and we gain a further step which is the ground of great hopes, when the desire is expressed for the authorization of persons who can go as accepted and recognised teachers of the Church. There are, you know, lay readers in many parishes already, to the number of sixty-four; but it is proposed that some fresh and independent system of management should be made for these lay evangelists, as they propose to be called, and this requires due care for its future success.

It is my earnest desire to give every facility for this in such ways and under such conditions as may seem wise and useful. The Church must, of course, claim some definite credentials and certain essential qualities. Proper tests of knowledge, character, and vocation must be guaranteed. Our people have a right to claim that authority should only be given upon proper examination and guarantee. But with this proviso there is every reason to promote such an organization; and if the men are forthcoming for the work, I shall make no initial difficulties or needless limitations. We are not first in starting this. It already exists in the Diocese of Durham. The consideration given to it there makes it wise for us to use their example. In accordance with that, the requirements from those first appointed to the service would not be made too formal, but consist mainly in that personal guarantee of character and fitness which can be given by those who have a real acquaintance with the candidates. The normal standard would then be gradually reached. At Nottingham the preliminaries have advanced so far that I hope the presentation of definite persons for the office may not be delayed. As I said there, 'The Durham scheme began thus: Fifty-two working-men came to the Bishop. The question here is, Are our fifty-two men ready?'

While these helps are preparing, one, and that a very chief help, is making happy progress: the extension of women workers' services in many forms. 'Sisters' are welcomed as inestimable blessings in each parish that has their help.

34 NECESSITY FOR MAINTAINING CHURCH SCHOOLS

Associations to help the young to maintain Christian life; to recover the fallen; to give aid and pleasure to mothers; to stir and league women's hearts to revive true life each in her own place, promise to be a great, if not the greatest, strength in upward progress.

One other point in our Church organization cannot be omitted, when circumstances bid us be on our guard lest any fresh departure in it should come upon us unprepared—I mean our Church schools. I have spoken already of the unhappy fact that without regard to parents' wishes, or English thought, or the true meaning of education, a system of schools is being established in which religion is not placed in its true regard.

There have been signs that the general feeling of the country and the working of the system are undergoing a change in this respect. More than one Board school in the great towns of this diocese have provided a very careful syllabus of Bible-reading, and have welcomed examination in the subjects included therein, which has shown careful teaching and good knowledge. But this is not the universal case; and even when this attention is given, and where teachers of the Board Schools are, as I do not question, appointed with due regard to their religious character, yet still the Board schools present education as only secondarily concerned with religion, and the idea given to parent and child is, that the one thing needful is the acquisition of secular knowledge, and not the formation of religious character. I, therefore, still urge Churchmen to maintain Church schools at all costs, until some much greater security is obtained for religion being set in its true place in all schools.

THE VILLAGE PASTORATE.

We gather to these Visitations to encourage each other in the work of that leadership in Christ's Church which all here in their several places have taken on themselves. The duties of lay and clerical officers are different, but to both alike attaches the responsibility of leaders to be examples; the great truths of Christianity are taught for all men, but officers, lay as well as clerical, do, in becoming officers, profess to be examples of them to others. Only those who have counted

the cost (hear the Gospel lesson* of this sixth day of this Visitation circuit), only those who, when the cost grows, as life grows, and grows greater than their thoughtless expectation when they began, can rise in faithful honour to the self-imposed responsibility to pay the cost, whatever the sacrifice be—only those can lead to victory. Without that spirit, office avails but little. What can it bring but the mockery at one 'who began and was not able to finish,' who took too lightly a high post and failed in the day of trial to maintain it?

How many of you in your village isolation are tried, not by the greatness, but the smallness, of your task. How slight and disproportionate to your zeal and power seems that long quest of miles to find, or fail to find, some poor farm lad, it may be, with so little to encourage or to interest! How petty the task seems compared to the great work of brethren in town parishes! What says this Gospel chapter to you? The one lost sheep, the one lost piece of silver, speak of a greater joy from one such recovery, than from many who have kept huddled round privileges enough to find them irksome.

How natural it is to feel it hard to spend time (which might be so happy in refined and congenial society) in friendliness with people of ideas alien from yours, whose thoughts are of the world only, if not of sin. And yet this chapter says, that among publicans and sinners you may best follow Christ's example, and where souls hear but little of Gospel spirit, there often is a soul that craves more hungrily for some light, some help, some sympathy; and such a soul's relief and rescue is to that soul itself, and will be to its comforter, as to the angels in heaven, a greater joy than they who need no repentance. Do we seem weak in numbers, poor in strength, this Church of God in the world? Does not this chapter present in its parable of salt some encouragement to doubters? Is it not true that great bodies are preserved and sweetened by small preserving and purifying influences?

People talk of this salt as being so small in quantity. It may be that it is. But that is no reason why the quantity should continue so small. Surely it is our duty to enlist everyone into this organization—everyone, women as well as

* S. Luke xiv. 27-35.

men. This is no question of help to the clergyman ; whether he feel it to be so or not is a secondary matter. Christian work has its fruit in more than the worker's part. There are those for whom he works ; and every Christian heart open to expand in Christian work has its own claim not to be barred, but to be encouraged and directed to what may be for each the happiest and most useful growth.

In towns and villages such Christian workers gather ever round a centre of sympathy—district visitors, nurses of the sick, directors of parish clubs or institutes, mission women, Sunday-school teachers, rescue workers, etc., only asking that order of union and of freedom, which is the highest test of pastoral wisdom and temper of those set in the Church by God, with gifts of government. For many of the difficulties of village life, more lead in progress may be derived from the lay officers even than from the pastor, if they care about the village recreations ; if they raise the standard of opinion, especially in matters where young men are often started with false thoughts of manliness ; if they make kindness and justice the standard and example ; and if they will show religion to be real to them, as to men who would say in Joshua's words : ' As for me and my house, we will serve the Lord.'*

* Joshua xxiv. 15.

THE RELATIONS OF THE ANGLICAN COMMUNION TO OTHER CHURCHES

EXTRACT FROM AN ADDRESS DELIVERED TO THE CLERGY OF THE
DIOCESE IN THE CATHEDRAL CHURCH OF SOUTHWELL AT THE
SYNOD HELD JUNE 27, 1889, FOR THE PURPOSE OF CON-
SIDERING CERTAIN OF THE RESOLUTIONS OF THE
CONFERENCE OF BISHOPS OF THE ANGLICAN
COMMUNION, HELD AT LAMBETH IN 1888.*

This address consisted almost entirely of a report by the Bishop on the Resolutions passed at the Lambeth Conference of 1888. The Bishop's personal interest in the subject, and the completeness which it gives to the representation of his views on the place of the Anglican Church in Christendom, have suggested the inclusion here of his explanation of the Resolutions concerning the relations of the Anglican Communion to other Churches. The Bishop said :

It is well to point out that in speaking of intercommunion the admission of individuals to communion in sacraments or other Church privileges is but a small part of what comprises, as its crucial point, interchange of clergy.

The relations between two parties never depend simply on either one. In some cases it may be regarded as practically beyond the range of consideration whether terms of communion are possible. It is grievous to think that the Church with which ours was most nearly connected for centuries, and which is the closest round about us of all foreign Churches, is the Church at this time most irreconcilably parted from communion with us, not only by the divergence of teaching established by the Roman Council of Trent and in our own time, but by the claim of the Church of Rome that the terms of communion must be absolute submission by our Church

* For these Resolutions, see the Report of 'The Conference of Bishops of the Anglican Communion Holden at Lambeth, 1888,' Resolutions 14, 15, A, B, C, D, E, F, 16, 17, pp. 26-28 (published by S.P.C.K., 1888).

to absolute government by her. And yet it must be clear that the impossibility of regarding any rectification of such claims at present as within the range of practical politics justified the Lambeth Conference in not devoting their attention to our relations to the Roman Church. The tendencies shown by members of Churches in the Roman Communion to refuse the modern developments of Roman teaching, and especially the novel dogmas of the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin Mary, and of the Universal Bishopric and Infallibility of the Bishop of Rome, point to the prospect that divergence of teaching may dwindle, as liberty of thought and knowledge grows and prevails.

Such reformed national Churches as have their beginnings more or less established, not only in the Teutonic nations of Holland, Germany, and Switzerland, but in the Latin nations of Italy, France, Spain, and Portugal, and the composite empire of Austria,* may form, possibly at no distant time, links of a chain which may re-establish the independence of National Churches, and so revive the possibility of that confederate reunion under conciliar action which is the primitive system represented on the modern scale. This may be a distant dream. The disintegration of National Churches in the Northern nations may hinder its main chance in the one direction, while it helps it in the other. But it is the most hopeful line, and it is the line which concerns us most. Their leaders look to our example in following the early Churches by rejecting the universal Bishopric of Rome. The position of our National Church is their greatest leader's ideal. Some of the national movements look to us for their actual organic development, some for material aid for training teachers, some as a centre of sympathy.

This is the judgment of the Lambeth Conference in regard to the Old Catholics†—*i.e.*, 'Those members of foreign Churches who have been excommunicated on account of their refusal, for conscience' sake, to accept the novel doctrines promulgated

* See Report of Lambeth Conference, 1888, Resolution 15, A, B, D, C, pp. 26, 27.

† See Report of Lambeth Conference, 1888, No. 10, Scandinavians, Old Catholic Committee, pp. 90-98.

by the authority of the Church of Rome, and who yet desire to maintain in its integrity the Catholic Faith, and to remain in full communion with the Catholic Church.' First, generally, 'we declare (as in 1878) that all sympathy is due from the Anglican Church to the Churches and individuals protesting against these errors,' and 'to those who are drawn to us in the endeavour to free themselves from the yoke of error and superstition we are ready to offer our help and such privileges as may be acceptable to them, and are consistent with the maintenance of our own principles as enunciated in our formularies.'

Then, in more detail of graduated recognition, (B. I.) Of the ancient Church of Holland, which in practice accepts the title of Old Catholic, 'The Conference recognises the dignified and independent position of the Old Catholic Church of Holland, and looks to more frequent brotherly intercourse to remove many of the barriers which at present separate us.'

(B. II., III.) Of Germany and Switzerland 'we regard it as a duty to promote friendly relations with them,' and we offer them the privileges of admission to Holy Communion on the same conditions as our own communicants.

Of the less completely formed Old Catholic bodies in (B. IV., V.) Austria, France, Italy, Portugal, and Spain, the Bishops speak in proportionately less distinct terms, expressing sympathy, and 'a trust that in time they may be enabled to adopt such sound forms of doctrine and discipline, and to secure such Catholic organization, as will permit us to give them a sufficiently fuller recognition.'

With regard to the (A.) Swedish Church and the (B. VI.) Moravians, special resolutions intimate that intercommunion with them depends on special questions which, though not yet determined, are yet capable of determination.

It will be obvious that the question of full intercommunion between our own particular Church of England and other Churches, in the sense of admitting the clergy of those Churches to be clergy in our Church, is not an immediately practical one, as the conditions of our employment of clergy are determined by laws; while any use of our clergy by them depends, not on us, but on them. But in America, and in

some degree in our Colonies, it is different. Scandinavians especially mix in the communities in numbers, and union of them with our people might be of great value, if such union is determined to be in accordance with sound principles. Where members of different National Churches mix in the same new country, full intercommunion by mutual acceptance of each other's clergy is a practical question. For ourselves the intercommunion will be confined to personal communion. For this exact agreement in doctrine cannot be held necessary. For foreigners visiting us, or for ourselves visiting foreigners, freedom to unite in a strange land with the Church of the country in Church worship and sacramental communion is not fettered by requirements of exact accord in doctrine and ritual.

It is a very different thing to consecrate Bishops or ordain priests for foreign Churches, or to admit foreign clergy to hold livings in our own. In regarding this, the Bishops show by their Resolution,* that they have in mind 'the primitive and established principles of jurisdiction,' and on this ground, as well as on the ground of serious differences from us in doctrine still retained, the Lambeth Conference has given no encouragement to members of our Communion consecrating or ordaining for the Old Catholics. Such, then, is the Bishops' judgment as to our proper relation with Old Catholic Bodies. On their responsible judgment, men, who have hesitated on their own, may be ready to give their sympathy and assistance on the lines indicated in the report.

In regard to the Orthodox Eastern Church,† the Lambeth Conference speaks more hopefully of mutual understanding and recognition. Circumstances rather than differences have prevented this. Their sense of their supreme antiquity, and their want of acquaintance with the history of our Church, keeps them still in unwillingness to regard us as equals. There is nothing to prevent better acquaintance from removing this. Each nearer approach to acquaintance has shown more possibility of it. Technically, rather than doctrinally, the clause '*Filioque*' in the Nicene Creed stands between us.

* See Report of Lambeth Conference, 1888, Resolution 15 E, p. 27.

† See Report of Lambeth Conference, 1888, No. 11, Eastern Churches Committee, pp. 99-104.

Practically it is not that, but prestige and uncertainty. If it came simply to be a question of the *Filioque* clause, or, rather, of the right to insert in the Creed (which is the only issue), the removal of that clause would not be the first revision of that Creed from later to more ancient form, which the history of our Prayer Book has known; and most English authorities agree, as the Lambeth Committee expressly recognised, that, long established as the clause is now, and involving no fundamental difference of faith, it was not rightly inserted. Were there ever a Conference for Unity, and were the question only between us and the Eastern Church and on this point, I do not suppose that our Church would hesitate to acknowledge and amend even so old an encroachment, and return to the older Creed.

But really it is not this clause which separates them from us, nor are we really separated from them by their few remains of what seems to us superstition; but the ancient places of Christendom still regard us as young barbarians. The Bishops' Committee think 'That the Heads of that Communion should be supplied with some authoritative document setting forth the historical facts relating to our orders and position in the Catholic Church,' and believe that 'In the more general diffusion of knowledge among the instructors of the people lies the best hope of that mutual understanding and esteem for which the Heads of the Orthodox Eastern Church have shown so much desire.'

It is a smaller but more practical question what England ought to do for these Eastern Churches, to which the Bishops conceive that England's 'position in the East imposes obligations' on us. While Russia is fortifying a political and even a material position for itself in enormous religious buildings at Jerusalem, and making politic if premature attempts to embrace Abyssinia; and while she calculates the material strength to be derived by an Orthodox protectorate out of ignorant fanaticism; and while Latin races are widening their partisan relations in the Levant, by Jesuit and other missions and institutions, to be an influence and support in secular interests too, we adopt the policy of religious liberty and equality, which under our direction becomes one of privileges to everyone but ourselves. I believe this liberty

and equality to be the wisest government policy, though I regret the tendency to discourage Christian activity for fear of remaining partial to it.

Liberty to be left alone seems all that the Christians in Egypt, to take that example, want. With this liberty they expand at once. But the Lambeth Conference speaks of our position there as imposing obligations on our Church, and the Bishops mark out true lines for help and sympathy.* Long depression has hindered the advance of learning in those ancient chief seats of Christian learning. Nevertheless, those depressed Churches have maintained Christianity in their countries with wonderful tenacity, and they are still the only instruments which can keep it real and national now. To strengthen them is the truest course. It is a delicate matter to offer aid to sensitive members of an ancient Church, still more to offer direction and criticism. The rising generation of lay Copts are alive to the weaknesses and needs of their condition and system, and there is capacity and earnestness among them, to which it must be left to work out for themselves such reforms as they need.

If we present ourselves as simply another aggressor on their Church, such as they feel surrounding them in Russians, Latins, and Americans, we can but intensify the jealousy which has been caused by recent mistakes, and which has broken the cordial relations not long ago existing. But we may well and acceptably promote efforts of their own to develop their education, and especially to supply materials for the better teaching of their clergy, and it is in this direction that the Bishops wisely counsel that we should give our help in such ways and to such measures as the people themselves present to us. The Bishops deprecate aggressive proselytism, and point to our using all possible opportunities of improving the mental, moral, and religious condition of such communities, where they may have fallen into error or show lack of moral and spiritual life, but not to inducing their members to leave their own communion.†

* See Report of Lambeth Conference, 1888, No. 11, Eastern Churches Committee, p. 102.

† See Report of Lambeth Conference, 1888, Resolution 17, p. 28.

THE SECOND CHARGE

THE LINCOLN TRIAL

PART I.—ADDRESSED TO THE DIOCESE, AFTER THE VISITATION OF
THE RURAL DEANERIES IN 1892, BEING THE NINTH YEAR
OF THE BISHOP'S CONSECRATION.

This Charge opened with a review of the spiritual and material provision in clergy, fabrics, and services, for the increasing population of the Diocese. The Bishop spoke of the poverty of clerical incomes, and of the special diocesan efforts to lighten it; and of new developments of religious and social agencies. He then said:

CHURCH LEGISLATION.

THE public Church questions of the year 1892 have been the Clergy Discipline Act, the agitation for Church Disestablishment in Wales, the working of the Free Education Act, and the termination of the protracted lawsuit of Read and Others *v.* Bishop of Lincoln.

Of the Clergy Discipline Act I spoke so fully in my last Charge in 1888 that the small alterations made this year in the former Draft Bill seem to need no special remarks.

* * * * *

Of the agitation for Disestablishment of the Church in Wales, our Diocese has repeatedly affirmed in every possible way its opinion that the Welsh dioceses are no separate Church from the English, and that all must stand together. I shall not say more of it. But in regard to the general question, I desire to present to Churchmen who are restive about Church legislation, and think Churchmen would provide endowments (and, if they won't, are ready to fly to the moon), my belief—in which, perhaps, I stand alone—that Disestablishment would alter the Church's power for good as much as Disendowment. It means the destruction of the Parochial

System, which has been the Church's real influence. The clergy derive from their legal position the three things which they value most: their freehold tenure, their freedom from clergy intrusion, their authority to pastor their whole parish. Laymen may fret at times under the first two privileges, till they contrast them with Nonconformist ministers' dependence, and their rival subdivisions after disputes.

But for the clergy the change would mean still more the loss of the authority which justifies their visiting their parish, not as volunteer philanthropic intruders, but as national officers appointed for this very thing and regarded as such. The unrivalled acquaintance with the poor and power to direct help for them, which the clergy are recognised to possess in East London, is in many cases independent of endowment, where men are maintained from voluntary resources, and might continue the same if the Church were disendowed; but it rests on their position as parsons of the parishes, which causes a claim and forms an introduction which would be destroyed by Disestablishment. Nonconformist ministers cannot do the same, if they would; but Disestablishment would neither make them able nor willing. The parson's position would not be divided, but destroyed. What advantage to the people this would be, what liberty or enlightenment or comfort or help any but secularists can see in this, is as puzzling as it is to say what benefit it is to children to debar them from the acquaintance and interest of the clergyman, who is to most of them just the influence not supplied by their own surroundings.

Look at a workhouse where a chaplain is extruded, and ministers of all denominations are invited to divide the office among them. It may gratify the ministers at first, but what of the poor? Can all those ministers befriend any one poor person effectively by turns, or can any poor person know and value all the ministers by turns? If a man tells me that twenty-twentieths of a man must make a man, I ask him to break himself into twenty pieces and try. Such workhouse crises show one side of the question, as East London shows the other. If chaplains are extruded in spite of Acts and Local Government Board, one Christian undenominational

layman attached for moral and religious supervision of inmates and staff alike could serve the country's purpose better than the ministers of all the sects bowing each other in and out, and taking a service each once a quarter. Only such a lay officer would cost more than guardians pay chaplains, and he must not be dismissable by the guardians. What spiritual provision would be made for the out-poor by Parish Boards like guardians, may be inferred from what guardians make for the in-poor. The rates might be saved, but would the souls?

It is all askew to make Church Establishment a question of equality between competing Bodies. It is a question of having appointed officers to do a particular great national work that won't be done without. However, I am addressing Churchmen, and return to my first words: that if Churchmen suppose that the position of a National Church may be lightly surrendered, they have not, in my judgment, realized the difference in religious influence belonging to congregational and parochial systems. For the clergy it might be easier work (and in our large towns we may see how readily clergy may drop into such a system), if their attention became limited to their congregation, over whom, too, some ecclesiastically-minded clergy may (vainly) expect to exercise discipline; but the national social religious work of parochial clergy will have no authority, and cease.

EDUCATION.

The position of our Church schools is our next perplexing problem.

* * * * *

The Bishop shortly stated the position of the Church schools in the Diocese, and the amount of the Sustentation Fund which had been raised. He thus continued:

The schools question is, however, not one of this or that special pressure, except in the sense that a last straw breaks the camel's back. The two questions are—(1) whether the coming masters will continue in the face of Board school management? and (2) whether the coming generation of

Churchmen will continue to pay school rates and also subscribe? The question is only of great consequence in large School Board towns, which are also the places where the question is acute. There is a growing feeling, which I share, that in these large towns the issue will have soon to be decided by those ratepayers who desire religious education standing out for having their rates expended in accordance with their wishes, and changing 'the present settlement of the Religious Question,' as it is called.

I think the ratepayers might claim with justice that the school rate should be distributed to all schools in proportion. Whether they will do so is another question. Parliamentary opportunists are not likely to lead the crusade, and Churchmen are divided as to what signifies. There will be no united action if 'the full Church Teaching' desired by Churchmen means a particular complexion of teaching about the Sacraments, the ministry, and the position of the Church. No standard of religious school teaching will be enforced which will not leave the clergy to teach the special Church teaching on these older subjects. That is their business, in my judgment. But if a School Board election may place a generation of children under regulations and teachers intended to exclude Christian knowledge from their school life, men who do not approve may go to prison to maintain schools not so controlled. I have spoken on these subjects too often to be supposed to mean that Board schools must be un-Christian. I do not believe that universal School Boards would destroy Christianity, till it was destroyed without. But a centralized system gives the hasty stroke of a central pen too much power, and one man may, under it, destroy what generations could not displace.

I know the weaknesses of an independent System. 'Every fool knows that.' But I know also the life and reality of liberty, and even the present School Board system may not inspire life learning or reality. It would ruin secondary education. However, this is off my subject. My value for Church schools does not depend on their being teachers of Church doctrine. I do not, however, see why arithmetic and history must be taught better, or deserve national or rate-

payers' support better, *without* Church doctrine than *with*. And I think that if religious parents desire them to be taught *with*, the time has come for Churchmen to say that they see no reason why they should be the only people whose wishes receive no attention. Only, of course, they may have to go to prison.

THE LINCOLN TRIAL.

The other public event affecting the Church in 1892 has been the termination of the protracted lawsuit of Read and Others *v.* Bishop of Lincoln.* It is not my intention to criticise the Judgment arrived at during four years' deliberations. I accept it completely as the Judgment, not only of a Court determined by the chief authorities in Church and State to be competent, but also of a Court which, if formed, as I think, on faulty principle, was nevertheless formed of the best men that could have been found in any way for the purpose.

For the sake of the future I repeat now, what I desired to urge at the time, that I regret, first, that the Bishop of Lincoln did not feel the question, 'What Court should try a Bishop in such matters?' to be one on which the Judges had a claim to hear both sides argued, and the Church and other Bishops had a claim that both sides should be argued; and, secondly, I regret that, when it was determined that the Court was the Archbishop, the Archbishop† felt bound to imitate the method followed in the case produced as precedent, and did not feel that, having no form of Court prescribed by English law, he was left to follow the Church method and make the Court, not of selected assessors, but of the Bishops of the Province. I regard the principle of 'selection' for judicial purposes as vitally wrong, and liable to extreme abuse in partisan hands, however perfectly it may have been exercised on this occasion. The future is, however, I suppose, not irretrievably precedent down to this course, even by this precedent of following a bad precedent; and it may be hoped that, before another case arises, time may be given for fresh light to guide the then Archbishop or others to truer principles of Church jurydom. At the same time, I do not question the

* Edward King, D.D.

† E. W. Benson, D.D.

least the competency of the Court composed. Still less do I assert any obligation that Church Courts, any more than Civil Courts, must be formed on one and the same model in all ages and Churches. I think the ancient model for a Bishop's trial more equitable than the latest modern.

I cannot say in which party's favour judgment has been given in the particular case. As in an ancient precedent, the Court seems to me to have awarded the parties a shell apiece. It must be hoped that, as in that precedent, the Court has obtained the solid object of contention; its object having apparently been to effect a settlement. In regard to ourselves, the point on which judgment was declined is the point on which the judgment most important to us is pronounced: in the declaration that even the Bishop of the Diocese, when visiting a church to join in its service, is not called upon to interfere then and there with the incumbent's arrangements of the services, nor is he responsible for irregularities in them. That does not, of course, mean that it is not his office to correct irregularities; but he will do so at proper times, and not by distracting alterations on the spot. There may be irregularities extreme enough to justify immediate correction: the measure of such necessity would vary; but they are not probable at a Bishop's visit without his previous knowledge. I feel that if a Bishop were bound to take a model for uniformity everywhere with him, the distractions caused by his visits would make them more help than hindrance.

Very few of any party do not feel sorry that a man like the Bishop of Lincoln has been made party in such a Trial, or fail to feel deep and sympathetic regret that his saintly work has been subject to such distractions and annoyances. His selection seems also to have been a blunder. Such Trials will scarcely be repeated. Still, I cannot withdraw my opinion, expressed in my last Charge, that, at the time, though the disputed points had made their way into acceptance wide enough to disable prosecution, the prosecuting party were not to blame for pressing the legality of doubtful ceremonial, which perplexed and displeased many Churchmen, to the fullest trial and judgment, believing as they did that parts

at least had actually been pronounced illegal. I almost think that some judges of previous cases ought to share their costs.

But the *arcanum imperii* has been long revealed, that, in a civilized age, men have only to go to prison long enough to baffle law, to abolish church rates (possibly hereafter school rates), and certainly to establish ceremonial. Prosecutions are an advance on the S. George's-in-the-East riots; and if they produce the comfort that law is responsible for the established changes, they will have set both sides at ease. The Church will have been set by this Judgment before trades unions in the race of progress, and been led to pass first through the barbarous stages of riots, imprisonments, and legislations to the final arbitrament of Christian consideration and common-sense.

Of the questions raised in that trial I will not speak at this point, for circumstances have caused me to put together at some length my thoughts upon some points in them which have come before me, and I shall make that statement a separate second part of this address. I will add a few words to conclude this.

DIOCESAN PROMOTION.

I am not sorry to have been asked about the principles of diocesan promotion. The one principle is fitness. Length of service may mean length of merit or the reverse. Incumbents' choice of curates depends very much on circumstances, and does not always prove fitness for livings. Seniority is the worst of all principles. Patrons are so often wanting men, that it is rare for a curate who makes any mark by his work not to be offered a post before he has served ten years. He will not expect to serve less. Many of our best curates have refused posts offered them. Good work in the Diocese is the best claim for promotion in it; and yet work may be good without making a man fit for all posts, nor is parish work the only diocesan work or the only test of fitness. A Bishop's appointments should, more than any patron's, show an example of selecting the best man he can find for each par-

ticular place, and of regarding the place as the chief interest to consider.

* * * * *

The Bishop here added information about particular appointments, and commented on the alienation of the patronage of the Chapter livings, and on the Obituary of the Diocese. He thanked the clergy and laity for their personal kindness to him, and ended this first part of his Charge in the following words:

The old Roman, who built his house for everyone to see into, knew public life. The Church and her individual clergy gain by the full light upon them, if the light cast be not unfriendly coloured. Weaknesses grow out of sight. Each inquiry is not only an opportunity for removing false impressions, but also an occasion for efforts to rise to the expectations presented by it. We have not all the same posts, no doubt. But the strength and honour of the Church is chiefly hazarded on those whose faithfulness to duty has least aid from public guard and stimulus. Parsonages should be, as very many are, the happiest as well as the best homes of England. Where they are so, their use needs no describing, any more than a candle set in its candlestick. A country lighted so would be madly set on darkness to throw them down. 'Let your light so shine before men'* is our call. The country does not want darkness, but it does want light. We have to walk as children of light; our people ask for light. There is our opportunity for service and its welcome. If a candle gives no light and needs removal, it is with sadness that is seen, not with ill-will; at least, ill-will stands condemned, and soon condemns itself.

If threatening sounds are heard, that is the time for girding ourselves, as true men who, when the fight comes, feel the whole war depends each on his own self. In this war, if it does more than threaten enough to remind us that threatened men live long, the issue will rest with the Villages. The Parochial System has been the life of the English Church by its penetrating through the villages, and it is to that penetration that the Church is still apt to point as her strength.

* S. Matthew v. 15, 16.

That strength rests on those village parsonages being the best and happiest homes of the land, and on the light of teaching, guidance, and help which shines from them. The country parson may feel left in an outpost. His post is the post of danger and of honour. May all be faithful to their hard post ! What help and encouragement can be given them from headquarters it would be folly as well as crime for their chiefs not to give. But it will not be on such encouragement that the duty of the most faithful will be based, but on their own hearts' unmoved loyal trust and allegiance to their own Master, to Whom alone they stand or fall, and Who has said to His servants whom He has put in trust for Him, and who have kept their trust : ' Well done, good and faithful servant : thou hast been faithful over a few things, I will set thee over many things : enter thou into the joy of thy Lord.'*

* S. Matthew xxv. 21.

THE SECOND CHARGE

PART II.—SOME CONSIDERATIONS ON THE HOLY COMMUNION,
BEING REPLIES TO QUESTIONS ASKED IN THE DIOCESE
IN THE FOUR YEARS 1889 TO 1892.

THOUGH ritual questions are rare in the Midlands, circumstances have given me occasion to draw up, what I must not call a Judgment, but an Opinion, in reply to difficulties which have exercised the minds of some of my friends, not touching the legality, but rather the broader bearings of the disputed ritual, its tendency and motive, its meaning and value, and its popular impression. Of these broader bearings I would not speak in my last Charge. The law case to which I have referred arose, and I deferred publication of my opinion till that should be decided. But now that it will not anticipate the law, and as I do not wish to criticise or discuss the law, I prefer to say what I have been called upon to say, in the general and independent form in which I have for some time prepared my opinion. I may refer to later history at points, but I am not sorry to have worked rather on more ancient. It is, after all, only my reply to difficulties which may well have become themselves ancient history.

I believe that to be the case with the root-question, What is at issue in the disputes about ritual? Instead of asking merely, 'Is it Romish?' people ask, 'What is the meaning or use of it?' To condemn things because they are done by Romans is felt to be as foolish as to do things because they are done by Romans. There may be some affectation of being what it is the fashion to call 'Catholic-minded'; but outside that special ring I believe that British insularity has given way at least enough to the disposition to

consider without prejudice the merits of innovations in themselves.

I say 'at least enough,' because I am sensible of a fallacy underlying the claim to judge each novelty by itself, as if there were no truth at all in small things being parts of great systems. The change of attitude is not unsuited to my opinion, which is, indeed, drawn from the same point of view. I am convinced that the medieval developments from the Fourth Lateran were rightly rejected by the Church of England when they were made articles of faith by the Council of Trent; that the rules of clergy celibacy and refusal of the cup to the laity may have been at the time 'present necessities,' but are untrue and uncatholic as rules; that the systems of the confessional and of indulgences are fatally demoralizing; that worship of relics and saints and the Roman sacramental doctrines are grave errors. Practices, however small, which aimed at insinuating any of these points of the Roman system would be, in my judgment, abandoning primitive truth for medieval error. But I do not therefore assume that every revived usage involves such a retrogression, but consider the special subjects in dispute on their merits.

Romanizing must be part of the question about each, but it enters in very different ways and degrees into the subjects of Words, Rules, and Ceremonial, which form the heads of our discussion. Of these the Words may be supposed to be least important, but they are even therefore the most important, as indicating a desire to innovate, not for the sake of some advantage such as may attach to rules or accessories in themselves, but simply to approximate to Romans.

I propose to discuss one word only, and to discuss it in regard to the principle underlying it in a more marked degree than the others which go with it. I mean the word *Mass*.

Mass.—The revival of this name is said, 'if it has no other use, to mark the identity of the English and Roman Sacrament.' In itself it has no connotation. It appears to mean the Service which begins at the *Missa*, or Dismissal of the sets of people not admitted to communicate. The Dis-

missal so began it and so named it. If the word connotes anything, it is the dismissal of all but the Faithful, who were all to communicate; and would not suit non-communicating attendance, or, at least, not that of children. I have heard it advocated as a short name of no special sacredness, and so more fit for common reference than the two Prayer Book names. Though this reason would not attach to devotional, official, or documentary references, it fits the English reserve, which shrinks from talking commonly of sacred names, as the Jews did not utter the *Tetragrammaton*. For commoner reference, however, our people have been satisfied with 'The Communion,' or, more commonly, 'The Sacrament,' while a cultivated class has revived 'Eucharist,' with a sense of something mystical about the untranslated name, which if it had passed through the same stages as 'Communion' has, would have been 'Grace.' Sacrament and Eucharist are the oldest names recorded by primitive writers after the New Testament. But the name Mass is revived (by an individual or perhaps society use) avowedly as a medieval name once common to both English and Roman Churches. Our own last documentary use of it was the description of the Holy Communion as 'commonly called the Mass,' a phrase implying that such popular use was not legal or official.

Words differ from Ceremonial; ceremonial may have merit apart from any ideas, while words can only be introduced for the sake of their idea. A Church that has reformed may reform again, not only about customs and ceremonies, but about doctrine, too, if it so determine. But if a name implies a doctrine, individual clergy are not free to introduce, still less to revive, such a name without their Church's authority. The revival implies two premisses: (1) That we ought to remove all needless marks of difference between the two Churches. (2) That the doctrine expressed by the word Mass is taught by the English, as well as the Roman, Church, and therefore, it is a needless mark of difference to use different names for the Sacrament. These premisses contain the controverted part of the ritual question, which is better discussed on words which have no other object than on ceremonies which have independent value.

Putting aside (as I propose to do throughout) all questions about legality—and with them the British motive to claim a right (even to ruin one's self) if thought to be improperly forbidden—and asking what is supposed to be the gain in the use of the word Mass, I am met with ambiguity. It is never stated whether the object is Reunion with Rome, a return to medieval instead of primitive doctrine; or, while retaining our independence and doctrine distinct from Rome, to make a semblance of unity by using names in two different senses. The reunion of Christendom is yearned for by Christendom: reunion with Rome is, for ourselves, one of the nearest and main steps to that. But this is never professed to be the motive for medieval revivals, but is indignantly denied to have any connection with them, and distinctions against Roman theories are drawn with no less skill than vehemence by the revivalists, leaving no doubt except about the sentiment and tendency which clothe and interpret their proceedings. I do not believe that any party in our Church desires to be absorbed into outer fringes of Rome, or regards an Italian Curia as England's true spiritual Directorate. Many would desire the communion which once existed; very few could accept the obedience which never existed.

Speaking at this moment, not of doctrine, but only of the obedience, I do not wonder that sometimes, when Church government and legislation are stifled, distance lends enchantment to the view of a spiritual power independent of civil shackles; and if our Church ever lost its unique primitive basis of National Church, more men might come to think that, rather than be one more local Body, the second best would be to join, even in the lowest place, such a European Church combination for religion against secularism; but unless and until our Church is denationalized, few leading men will prefer to sacrifice our unrivalled opportunity to either phantasy or false history. Times recur in cycles, when good men, in despair of holiness, crave for spiritual despotism, which, however unfaithfully others have used it, they would exercise righteously; in despair of overcoming atheism, crave for inquisitorial extinguishers, which, however faultily others have used them, they would put with unerring exactness

on erratic liberty of thought ; in despair of Church position, crave for an idealized, world-wide Clergy Trades Union, in which, however others have been betrayed by power, they would be officers who would combine freedom and truth.

But then, again, other times recur, when liberty and knowledge are trusted to be the instruments of truth and life ; when it is seen that men desire truth even while floundering away from it in ignorance, and that truth is grown in liberty ; when it is remembered that Church discipline has not maintained morality, nor Church repression unity. Oppressed Churchmen turn ecclesiastic. But I don't believe them to desire to be directed from Rome, but to direct England so far as ' Catholic-minded ' laymen require it of them. At any rate, as I began by saying, Union with Rome is repudiated by those thought to hoist its signals. Who could dream that words like Mass could make union ? The great questions with Rome are still, Is error to be stereotyped by a dogma of Church Infallibility ? and, Is liberty of thought to be suppressed by central Roman despotism ?

I have supposed that my third alternative was the real account, viz., that men have wished to obliterate external differences of names and forms, and yet not meant to alter English teaching by doing so ; or, to put it another way, they have argued, ' These words and forms were used by England three centuries ago, and, therefore, may be used now.' There may be Rip van Winkles so imbued with medieval thought as to ignore modern meanings of such words and the impressions conveyed by them now, and to suppose that because medievalists can naturally use them for what they meant in the twelfth century, therefore common people must be able to do so, though they have never known them mean any but the modern Roman sense. It is, indeed, not uncommon to hear it gravely argued that such revival of words in their old meanings would be an excellent Church history lesson—which it might be, if really so given. But to suppose ordinary people to be ready at once to take up an old meaning of Mass suited to English teaching is as reasonable as to hold an argument

with Sabbatarians on the basis of your treating Sabbath as meaning Saturday, because it once did so, and expecting them to understand you.

If men mean to teach Roman doctrine, that is another thing. But if they do not, as I have supposed, it seems a perversity, which may be almost called childish, to discredit themselves by misunderstandings wilfully created in their people's minds; and to disable their opportunities of influencing Englishmen with English teaching, merely for the sensational freak of startling unlearned helplessness by talking of Mass, seven Sacraments, and other disparagements of our Prayer Book and Articles. In times when our Church requires 'a strong pull altogether' to carry her work through against real opposition, it is a great loss if any fine spirits, fit to be leaders, stop her progress and endanger her safety for the pleasure of 'kicking over the traces.'

Is it, then, thirdly, to teach Roman Doctrine that men revive terms which have in common regard been specialized to Roman aspects? Remember that I have said throughout that the revivers strongly repudiate this. The argument which I quoted at first may serve as a handle for the discussion: 'The word Mass will show the identity of the English and Roman Sacrament.' In what sense is this true, and in what sense untrue? It is one chief blessing of the very simple sacramental acts and elements that they can be, and have been, repeated and spread the same through ages and languages in every way different; and the benefits of that Memorial rest on the same Divine mercy, and tend to the same salvation of souls in all Churches, however different their mode of appropriation or their measure of knowledge. This identity spreads beyond England and Rome, and is befitted by names of more complete primitive Catholicity than Mass. Is Mass used to exclude the identity of English and Eastern Sacrament, though English Church origins were Eastern? Mass is but a poor, non-Catholic name of little meaning, compared with the grand old *Sacramentum* of Christian allegiance. Sacrament is not insular, but Catholic; Mass is not Catholic, but Roman. It dwarfs the Catholic identity of the Sacrament. Mass does not identify the English with the Roman Sacra-

ment, but only an English with the Roman special aspect of the Sacrament.

Is it, then, true to do this? Is it true that 'the Sacrifice of the Mass,' in the sense in which it is taught and understood by the Roman Church, is an aspect of the Sacrament identical with that of the English Church? The essential part of this question is, of course, 'in the sense taught and understood in the Roman Church.' Definition of ambiguous words and distinction of confused meanings are, as I keep repeating, the remedies against fallacies. Sacrifice is most truly an English aspect of the Sacrament; but not in the sense of sacrifice taught of the Roman Mass. Christ's Real Presence in the Sacrament is most truly an English aspect of the Sacrament; but not in the sense taught by Rome in Transubstantiation. That communicants receive the Body and Blood of Christ is most truly the English teaching of our Catechism; but not materially in the bread, as Rome teaches, but spiritually in the Sacrament. To revive the name Mass is to identify these opposite aspects of three chief points in the Sacrament. It is true that popular interpretations are often perversions of scientific teaching, and scientific Roman theology may not have meant what it has been understood to mean, that each 'Sacrifice of the Mass' was a fresh actual repetition of Christ's immolation; but that is the popular acceptance of its meaning, and that our Church rejects in every part of her Service.

Those among us who dwell most on the Atonement must be the first to feel that, as all Christian worship, so specially its most special Act, will always plead in its remembrance of Christ His one full, perfect, and sufficient sacrifice, oblation, and satisfaction for the sins of the whole world. They will reverence the sacred Feast as the ever-repeated Feast attendant on that one Sacrifice in memorial of Him. They will be emphatic in acknowledging the worshipper's part in the Sacrament, in oblations, in the praise and thanksgiving, and in the offering of himself, his soul and body, which the service calls sacrifices. If there is no concealment (and why should any be supposed?), no school in our Church teaches any Sacrifice in the Sacrament beyond these several intentions.

But, then, they are not the Roman teaching of the Sacrifice of the Mass, nor can that name be used of them with propriety and without confusion.

Again, it is true that the old scholastic terms 'Transubstantiation' and 'Real Presence' have, like the later word 'Objective,' come by changes in thought and words to mean the very opposite to what they meant when invented for the Sacrament. No more ingenious application of the philosophy of the day to explain the inexplicable was ever made than in the term Transubstantiation. But it did not teach the, at least, popularly supposed present Roman meaning of the term, that Christ's human flesh and blood are materially eaten in the Sacrament. To us, in our modern use of language about ordinary men, a person's being really present means that he is there in his material body of solid parts, skin and bones, and so on, which we call substantial. But in the exploded philosophy of the Schoolmen, man's reality or substance meant just the reverse—it meant the special characteristic which constituted a Being a man, which was supposed to form an impalpable substratum of his existence, of which the senses could have no cognizance. Flesh and blood and all that we call substances were not man's reality or substance, but mere appendages, which would not have been called substantial. If Transubstantiation has been caused by modern change of language to mean the opposite of its original intention, so that its modern meaning that Christ's material Body, His natural flesh and blood, are materially eaten in the Elements is really a popular caricature of a great Church's scientific teaching, there may be nothing in Transubstantiation but an exploded philosophic explanation of transcendental metaphysics, about which it would not be worth while to dispute.

But it would be a strange thing then for us to talk popularly of Mass, which is so popularly misunderstood, and which, rightly understood, means only something exploded. In that case, if Rome could repent even enough not to be a slave to words' changed meanings, she would probably abandon terms belonging to an exploded philosophy. But she cannot. As it is, the word Mass conveys to popular

understanding the two ideas that Christ is slain afresh each time the Sacrament is ministered, and that the nature of the bread and wine is metamorphosed into Christ's natural flesh and blood. This cannot by any means be called identical with our Church's teaching, which contradicts both ideas most explicitly in her Service and Articles. No less clearly is the adoration of the elements, ordered both for priest and people in the Roman rubrics, condemned in ours. How can *Mass* be said to show the identity of the English and Roman Sacrament?

I have said that it is most truly English teaching that Christ is truly present in the Sacrament, and the term 'Real Presence' is usable by us in our modern understanding of the word 'real' to mean true and actual, as well as in the scholastic meaning of real as essential. But whereas the Council of Trent anathematizes all who say that Christ is only partaken in a spiritual manner, our Church teaches that His true and essential Presence is spiritual, and that communicants receive Him in a spiritual manner and sacramentally in the Sacrament. Our Church's language in Articles and Catechism may be thought to admit two possible theories of sacramental instrumentality; but if so, neither of them is that of the Roman Mass.

I do not doubt our Church's teaching to be that sacramental instrumentality is spiritual, as I read that of the primitive Church to have been—teaching that the bread and wine are 'antitypes, signs, and symbols' of spiritual food not identical with them, but represented by them, so that our spirits receive the operation of the spiritual food, as our bodies of the material. The act of sacramental worship faithfully offered in the symbolic representation ordained by Christ for His memorial strengthens and refreshes the soul with 'the Spirit that quickeneth,' and which is the real Substance and real Presence of Christ. The Spirit and thoughts of Christ, the Word or Mind of God, is our spirit and life, as they are Himself. Making memorial of Christ in thankful remembrance and in full assurance of faith, we feed in our hearts by faith with thanksgiving. Present He has

promised to be truly in our united worship, to make His disciples' hearts burn within them, as the ordained means of fitting symbols, prayers, thanksgivings, memorials, beliefs, thoughts, agencies, which combine for sacramental worship, bring their spirits into communion with His Spirit and feed them with the living bread of the Spirit of Christ, making His Spirit ours, His thoughts our thoughts, His life our life, Himself one with us. I believe this to be the sacramental teaching of our own Church and of the primitive Church.

It is difficult to draw an intelligible line between Transubstantiation and other theories identifying the sign and the thing signified, which might bring the latter outside of the criticism of our Article that Transubstantiation overthrows the nature of a Sacrament. I am properly at this moment only concerned with the fact that all such other theories are not the Roman theory, and cannot properly be called by the name Mass. Still, I will not leave out of this discussion the second Sacramental theory thought to be admissible by the words of our Church's somewhat uncertain documents. I am prepared to say that I only see two extreme views entirely excluded by all our Church's language—that of a social meal, and that of adoration of the material elements. In such transcendental mysteries, which can be brought to no test, I would not wish to exclude any interpretation which has meaning, if it can be brought within our Church's language. It is very difficult to analyze theories on so sacred a subject, and still more to express that analysis, without being thought irreverent. How and when grace is given in the Sacrament might well have been left unasked. But it is too late to wish that, and a comparison of theories cannot avoid close and distinct analysis and statement.

The second theory thought admissible by our Church's language is, that consecration attaches Christ's spiritual Body to the material elements of bread and wine, so that, while they still remain God's creatures of bread and wine, Christ's nature is united to them. This is what is really meant by the Lutheran theory of Consubstantiation, and as such it may claim the large Lutheran body as accepting it. About this

theory I will not ask questions of transcendental metaphysics, which might seem to be answered in mystical language. But an attempt to grasp the precise theory makes it seem to contain two parts, which challenge reasonable consideration, but about which I only propose to ask for their authority. They are: (1) That the act of consecration, by virtue of power conferred on a priest in ordination, has miraculous power, independent of the spirit of minister or recipient, whereby Christ's very Body is, without fail, brought down from Heaven and attached to the material bread and wine; and (2) that sacramental grace operates on the soul through effects on the body produced by the elements so changed by consecration. Mysteries cannot be brought to test, and I refrain, as I said, from questioning the meaning of the miracle taught.

But what authority is there for this miraculous power, claimed for every priest alike, and for the words and acts of Consecration? It is not irrelevant to observe that different Churches attach consecration to different parts of the Liturgy—the Eastern to the invocation of the Spirit, the Western to the recitation of the narrative of the Institution, which was at first only recitative. There is no formula of universal use, as in baptism. But apart from this, the extreme power claimed for the priestly act requires very clear authority for its acceptance. That priests are solemnly adjured to bear in mind the tremendous solemnity of ministering the Sacrament, and that the rhetoric of such Greek patristic adjurations is carried to an ecstatic extreme, is very true; but Greek rhetoric is as figurative as literal, and what is no exaggeration about the ideal ministration of so great a Sacrament, and the dignity of the true priest's instrumentality in such a work of Divine grace, is not a theological definition of sacramental operation, nor a statement that the mere words and acts of any priest, simply as priest, have the stupendous power claimed for them. Can we think that the New Testament would leave such a power unnoticed?

After paying the fullest regard to the nature of the New Testament books, and to the fact that things may be too well known to be noticed in such books, it is, nevertheless, difficult

to suppose that such a principle of really vital character could fail to have had some notice in them, if it had been known to the Apostles. Finding, too, as we do, in them discussions on reverence for the Sacraments and on reverence for the ministry, a principle vital to the character of Sacraments and ministry would have formed too important an element in such discussions to be wholly absent from them. The miraculous sacramental power claimed by the theory under our discussion is presented in that theory as so vitally essential that the Apostolic age must have known it. But yet no sign of this gift appears in the New Testament, neither in discussions even of questions of which it would have been the key, nor among the specimen gifts of grace, nor among the specimen offices, nor among the specimen charges and powers devolved by S. Paul on Timothy and Titus. It is difficult to think this a doctrine that would have been left to medieval development. It is needless to say that I am not now treating of the priestly dignity and office of offering the Sacrifice of the Liturgy. That belongs to a separate discussion.

It is more difficult to speak without reserve of the second point named above, viz., the theory which I have identified with what was intended by the Lutherans in the obsolete term Consubstantiation. The authority for this consists of a number of patristic passages of three kinds: (1) Statements identifying the sign and thing signified. These form the ambiguity, about which interpreters will continue to differ, whether they imply material, or are satisfied by spiritual, reality. But as they all rest on the words of the Institution, those words had better be treated as their representative. (2) Inferences in answer to the question, 'Where is the grace of the Sacrament contained?' (3) Statements that after consecration the Bread does not remain mere or common bread. I will speak shortly of these three arguments.

First, the words of the Institution are said to compel a literal understanding of them, and it is called an evasion to take them in any but a materialistic sense. Much has been said of their grammar, and yet the most natural question about their grammar is ignored—*i.e.*, whether in the sentence called 'the Words of Institution,' the ordinary rule of Greek

grammar does not make 'This' the predicate, and make the sentence mean: My Body is this, *i.e.*, My Body is bread; *i.e.*, no Paschal lamb shall be slain in remembrance of Me; but, as in Abel's sacrifice, and as in the unbloody offerings, the first-fruits of the ground shall be offered.

I shall not insist on this grammar, but it will be remembered that Irenæus speaks in the sense so given, 'Counselling His disciples to offer to God first-fruits from His creatures, that they might not be unfruitful or ungrateful, took that which of His creation is bread, and gave thanks, saying, This is My Body.' 'How shall they know that that bread over which thanks are given, is the Body of their Lord, if they do not acknowledge Him as the Son of the Creator of the world?—*i.e.*, His Word, through which wood yields fruit, and the earth yieldeth first the blade, then the ear, then the corn in the ear.'* The catena of passages down to S. Augustine quoted by Pusey† on the Real Presence, on the point 'He called bread His body' may be spoken in the same sense. Without dwelling, however, on this, it must needs be recognised that the sentence of Institution does not stand in the air, as if it were a definition from controversial theology, but is circumstanced by the Paschal scene and the Passion, yet unknown but now to follow, and the contrast of the two memorials. Those who call it an evasion to interpret the sentence in any but a material sense must at least remember that all the epigrams pointed at the so-called evasion said to be made by spiritual interpretation apply with equal force to any, even the most extreme, Roman interpretation, which stops short of asserting that communicants eat materially Christ's human flesh. This admits direct appeal to sense. But pretended Roman miracles of making blood flow from a consecrated wafer show to what the literal interpretation comes. The passage most rested upon is the chapter of S. John‡ which says, 'Except ye eat *My Flesh*.' I can only read that chapter to declare explicitly that these words are to be taken spiritually; and seeing how much is

* See Irenæus, iv. 17, 5.

† See 'Doctrine of the Real Presence,' Note S, Oxford, 1855.

‡ S. John vi. 26-63.

made to rest on the interpretation of that chapter as referring to the Sacrament, I suppose that the words of the Institution will be admitted to bear the same interpretation. The ambiguous patristic identifications depend on this first and chief example.

Second, 'the grace *must be* in the Elements, *for where else can it be?*' This represents the second argument, which does not profess to follow authority, but to rest on its own inference, stated as if exhaustive, and, as nothing else but a logician's exhaustive inference, open to criticism of its exhaustiveness. It would be enough to answer, Why not in the sacramental action, which was really the memorial instituted by Christ? But the sacramental theory of a real spiritual Divine Presence promised to such Christian assemblies in His Memorial is our Church's loftier interpretation.

Third, there remain the passages which speak of the consecrated Bread as not mere or bare or common bread. But will this carry such a stupendous theory as that of which we are speaking? No school in our Church would speak as if consecration left it *mere or common* bread, with no special character attached to it. A consecrated building remains a building, but not the *mere* building, but a church with instrumental power to raise souls in worship. A silken banner remains silk, but not *mere* silk, but a nation's representative of honour, to be guarded with her soldiers' lives. The wedding-ring is still the gold, but not *mere* gold, but the wife's most precious emblem, never to be parted with. Ordained men are still men, but are, like churches, made by their office to uplift souls and represent the Church in worship. If in these instances the power of consecration be subjective, it is not, therefore, unreal or imaginary.

I know that the spiritual theory of the Sacrament has been called Subjective, and in that word has been meant to be called unreal. It has been called a *low* view, and the materialist theory a *high* sacramental theory. Men have argued in would-be epigrams that virtual presence is real absence. But these criticisms rest on ideas strangely out of accord with the teaching that 'God is a Spirit, and they who worship Him

must worship Him in spirit to worship Him in reality.' Materialism may call spiritual impressions subjective illusions, but spiritual religion would be in strange confusion if it called spiritual Communion 'subjective' in the sense of 'imaginary,' because it is 'subjective' in the sense of 'felt by the persons.'

When the question is asked, Are subjective impressions adequate to the expectation of a Real Presence? in all reverent considerateness for mystical imagination striving to conjure up some palpable presentation, must we not ask, Is it indeed an elevating imagination to esteem a material impression upon substances as higher than a spiritual visitation to souls? What is the meaning of the desire for more than (to use the disparaging term) subjective impressions, which are the only possible manifestations to our souls of that spiritual Impressor's visitation and presence? If feeling craves some easier mode of apprehension, is it higher—I do not say, 'Is it more matter for faith by which Christ is to dwell in our hearts?'—but is it *higher* to seek satisfaction in an imagination that God can be localized at will by man in a material substance? Is it not higher to strain our imperfect spiritual apprehension to believe what is spiritual to be real? A belief in a spiritual in-dwelling of Christ could not turn for satisfaction to the idea of a material presence. Ultimately our interpretation of 'Real Presence' will depend on our belief in spiritual reality, personality, presence, and communion. This must be matter for belief.

Test, proof, analysis, knowledge of Christ's method of communion are impossible. Disputations about such mysteries might well have been counted the last things to justify divisions. But that is no longer possible. To return at last to the point which has led to this more serious discussion. To adopt the name Mass is not now to decline disputation, but to change sides upon it. It would not mean, 'Don't dispute, but communicate.' It means, 'Accept the Roman view.'

I pass, without touching at this moment other words, to speak of some Customs or Rules which have caused questions.

Here the principles assumed require chief notice. It is an often-assumed opinion that Catholicity requires universal

uniformity in observance of customs (and those not Apostolic only, but Ecclesiastical), which usage at some early period is said to present as Catholic, even although (or still more, if) no Canon or Decree ever made the practice a rule. This is stated as a truism, but it contradicts our Article which declares that Churches have right to ordain their own rites and ceremonies. And men who magnify S. Augustine's place in making the Church in England, and S. Gregory's in sending him, ought to respect the instruction of S. Gregory to S. Augustine, that he should introduce what customs would suit the English.

It has, however, become a root question, Are Church practices to be enforced because they are rules, or because they are good? For children, for the weak and ignorant, for beginners, rules as rules are good in religion as in everything, for aids and scaffolding. But that is not the question, but whether for Churchmen who are what S. Paul calls perfect, good Churchmanship means, in its perfection, keeping rules, or doing what is best. It is not a question either of doing in regulated order what has to be done by many in common. It is the question, What gives character to Church practices? Is it their spiritual helpfulness, or their having formed somewhere at some time a custom? It is S. Paul's old question about Law, or, rather, the older question which the Pharisees answered one way and Christ the other.

Our Church says that customs may rightly differ in different countries. We think that religion is not only richer and more living for such variations, but is also more effective in each country from such adaptation. Japanese are not European by wearing French hats, nor are Englishmen Catholics by using Eastern hours. In things not affected by country, men may be uniform; in things affected by country, they ought to be different. To make Easter uniform with Rome was a wise English concession for unity of action; to insist on Southern fasting in England is as unwise as it would be to insist upon immersion in Baptism. To have seasons for common fasting is again wise; but to make individuals' fasting identical is as unwise as to make their frequency of communicating. Age for Confirmation and Communion, and

hours for services, are examples of things independent of other Churches, which each should regulate for itself. Clergy celibacy and refusal of the Cup to the laity are examples of Roman non-Catholic rules, justified, doubtless, by circumstances at the time when the rules were made, but camels to gnats in comparison with an unmixed Cup or non-fasting Communion. English clergy liberty about marriage and beards is better law than Greek or Roman contradictory regulations. And yet there are symptoms of the Roman rule being adopted as more truly clerical. To call a useful practice a rule may help observance of a good thing. But the time may come when it will be supposed to be done, not for its usefulness, but as a prescription, even if worse than useless. Then 'whoso looketh into the perfect law of liberty' will denounce such rule as false in spirit, and degrading spiritual religion into formal.

Fasting Communion.—Consider now first the prescription to Communicate fasting. The materialistic and Manichæan ideas on which this has been sometimes since urged are withdrawn at present, and I hear it urged now only as a rule. It is publicly alleged that there are teachers who still call non-fasting Communion 'mortal sin.' But generally representative advocates of the rule admit that it is not suited for all English communicants. 'But make it,' they say, 'a rule, subject to Bishops' dispensations.' This puts the obligation on an entirely different level, from which we may discuss it. Now, I don't think dispensations all untrue or valueless. Vows may be taken subject to adequate independent judgment that changes oblige their termination, and, if taken on that express condition, are freed by it from vows' two opposite weaknesses. But unless dispensations belong to individual cases and particular reasons, they are not dispensations, but abrogations of the rule. In England it is whole classes who are excommunicated by a rule of fasting Communion. Dispensations for whole classes are admitted to be necessary from age, health, or circumstances. If the only object would be, after all, to make a rule, what is the sense of making it to abrogate it?

If the rule supposed were a rule recognising limitations of

age, health, and circumstances, that would be different; though the truer principle for hour and preparation would be 'worship when and as you can worship best.' Strong young people may worship best early and fasting; aged and weak cannot. Besides, the Communion is not an individual's service, but one essentially united, and it may often be a higher law for children to join parents in it than to suit their own separate interest. Again, frequent Communion is better than fasting Communion, which tends to reduce frequency. Busy, hard-worked people can't fast with advantage, nor can distances admit of it. Even the clergy are frequently exhausted by it to a degree that hinders their office. Fasting is a different thing in this country from what it is in Southern lands, where men live on nothing and do but little.

Putting aside, however, all reasons against the particular rule of Fasting being pressed in England now, however general a custom it was in Africa in S. Augustine's time, the root idea of enforcing ecclesiastical rules as rules, without regard to their suitableness, is itself more contrary to Christian wisdom than any branch example. Ecclesiasticism is not an advance upon the spiritual liberty of doing the best, but retrogression from it. Such rules touch the wrong persons. Many people are better for fasting, many more would be; but rule binds just those who are worse for it. The spirit of reverence will begin the day with the Sacrament, if that is felt its best reverence; but yet it is also another not untrue or unacknowledged principle of reverence that what should be most honoured should belong to the most frequented hour of public worship. For the clergy whose lives are framed by and for their ministration, for the strong, young, free members of society, hours are easy which are fixed by and for them; but those hours may be very arbitrary. They may not be working men or women's hours, nor hours for England. Indeed, to make hours Catholic, the course of the sun must change. Much has been done in our lifetime to increase reverence for the Sacraments and all worship. But this was done by example, not by rule. We thank the earnest generation which revived the reverence and living worship which we have enjoyed. But even therefore we object to rule being

made supreme, and to the spirit of that generation being lowered to externalism.

Of course, materialistic ideas of the Sacrament introduce special reasoning about fasting before it; but in themselves those ideas might as well prohibit eating after as before, and if the rules in question are made for the sake of those ideas, that makes them, after all, mere rules, settled arbitrarily, as rules are, and only as a particular way of satisfying the idea. Those materialistic reasonings I do not discuss here. They are not now professed to be the motives insisted upon. People believe them still to be the motives, because the Roman system seems to make them so.

But the old idolization of Rule is deeper still, and a change from Romanizing to Judaizing principles is very easy, and I believe the present phase is to magnify Compulsory Catholicity of rule above Christian liberty of principle. If the Church has no power to adapt practices and ceremonies to times and countries, it is not a living body, but a dead machine. Rule pressed by casuistry becomes Rabbinism. An example of this is shown in a Mesopotamian Bishop's* casuistical Canon of the sixth century, produced in advocacy of the rule's obligation. 'If a man is troubled with sore throat, let him put his trust in God, who will cure him without his gargling, if he abstain from gargling out of reverence for the consecrated Gifts.' 'Comment,' says the writer from whom I quote, 'is needless.'

S. Chrysostom, in his well-known passage, appealed to by both sides, is surely healthier; who, while asseverating that he had never himself celebrated except fasting, repudiated the teaching that fasting was essential. S. Paul's casuistry meets the case best: 'He that eateth, eateth to the Lord, for he giveth God thanks; and he that eateth not, to the Lord he eateth not, and giveth God thanks. Let every man be persuaded in his own mind.'† Apply this principle to our question, and it says: 'If fasting helps your spiritual worship, fast. If it hinders it, don't. Worship with your body as well as your spirit; but all bodies are not the same body.'

* John, Bishop of Tela in Mesopotamia, quoted by F. W. Puller, 'Concerning the Fast before Communion,' p. 32.

† Romans xiv. 5, 6.

Fasting gives life to pampered bodies, but from exhausted bodies it takes away even the life that they have.' I do not speak against 'fasting Communion,' but against *a rule of* fasting Communion. Were that rule based on materialistic ideas of profanity attaching to non-fasting Communion, that would be, as I have said, a deeper question, but as it is not so based now, I only say that such materialistic ideas are not the teaching of our Church.

It is most strange to find the rigorous rule of Fasting before the Communion rested upon the letter of S. Augustine to Januarius,* which has been hitherto regarded, and it seems rightly, as the earliest authority for the existence of the custom. The whole spirit of the letter, written to a young secretary who was troubled about rules, is to state the liberty of Churches to vary points not ruled by the Apostles or 'plenary councils,' such as keeping anniversaries of Christ's Passion, Resurrection, and Ascension, and the Descent of the Holy Spirit; and the Christian wisdom of conforming to the customs of Churches where you visit. 'First I would have you hold, what is the key of this discussion, that our Lord says that His yoke is easy and His burden light.' Days of fasting, frequency of Communions, are His own examples of customs open to variety, of which He says that 'it is the best rule for a sober Christian to act as the Church acts where you are.' 'I am often grieved at weak brethren being troubled by some brother's contentious obstinacy or superstitious fear, stirring such litigious questions as to think only their own way right.' How can this letter be made a text for rigorous Catholic rule? The question about the Eucharist arose from Januarius asking if we are not bound to receive after food, because the Institution was after supper. S. Augustine replies: 'It is true that the disciples did not receive fasting at the Institution, but does that justify your censuring the whole Church, if people receive fasting now? If Christ had ordered it to be always received after food, I don't suppose anyone would have varied the custom.' So far he presents his argument as his own. His incidental reference to the custom as existing is what the letter contributes to the history

* Ad Inquisitiones Januarii, Ep. liv.

of the practice. He then adds two points which are often accepted as no less established by his words, and on which the main stress is laid. Firstly, that S. Paul may be understood to have altered the hour. Secondly, 'that it seemed good to the Holy Ghost' (using the words of the Council at Jerusalem) 'that in honour of so great a Sacrament the Lord's Body should enter the Christian's mouth before his other food.' But both these statements are his own inferences, based simply on the custom being general, and solemn as the words sound, we must not magnify them to be more than S. Augustine's own.

Solemn as the words sound, we must remember that the letter is not a solemn letter to the Church, but to a young man who wished to set the Church right; and the spirit of the letter is not to insist on the obligation of the custom, but to tell the young man that it was silly to find fault with settled custom. Further, the reason given by S. Augustine for the custom does not allege the Ascetic idea of fasting being a necessary purificatory preparation for the Eucharist. He gives no hint of pollution in eating, or holiness in fasting, which would make it profanity to receive non-fasting. This ascetic idea, which has been revived among us, is not present in S. Augustine's, any more than in S. Cyprian's, argument for early Communion. It was not our Lord's teaching, nor His Apostles'. When we remember the superstitious views about fasting bequeathed by the Jews, and that Africa of all Churches was most ascetic in its teaching, it seems impossible that if the ascetic reason was in S. Augustine's mind he should not have uttered it here. Fasting was required before the baptism of a convert, but no early rules ordered it before the Eucharist, nor does S. Augustine order such preparation here.

His feeling appears, in the earlier part of the letter, in his discussion of daily Communion. On one side it was argued, men should choose days on which they live with special self-control; on the other, if men's sins do not deserve excommunication, they ought not to withdraw from 'the daily medicine' of the Lord's Body. S. Augustine says, 'Above all, abide in the peace of Christ; let each do what he is persuaded in his own mind to be best. *Contemptum solum non*

rult cibus iste.' So S. Augustine's reason to justify the change from 'after supper' (which Januarius would have revived) to 'before other food' was 'in honour of so great a Sacrament'—an honour of precedence, which still remains a valid argument, and which was satisfied by the Christian Liturgy beginning the ferial part of each day. But this is quite apart from the ascetic idea of fasting. And the whole letter contradicts the idea of rule as rule.

In speaking against rigorous rule, I seem to differ in word rather than in meaning from the advocates of Rule mitigated by Dispensation. I do not now question early usage, but universal obligation. Supposed obligation is made practically a ground for excommunicating great numbers of our people. When the supposition of a rule deters priests (in consideration of their own case) from celebrating after breakfast, dispensation must be regulated on some new principle to meet the case. It is this obligation of an alleged rule which is our concern. Rule as it has been called, for the Church generally it was only an indefinite custom at the most, so far as any evidence has been given. But suppose it all that its advocates call it, yet if they say that the obligation admits of dispensation, can they call the rule one of such sacred character that its violation would be profanity? If I believed the materialist reasons alleged for the rule, I could not give dispensation from what would then be, not a matter of individual fitness or ecclesiastical regulation, but of principle and of the nature of the Sacrament, which no dispensation could affect. But if the rule can admit such an amount of dispensation as is needed in England to avoid an intolerable system of excommunication, it befits our Church better, in my judgment, not to ordain a rule which involves such alternative consequences.

Non - Communicating Attendance. — This practice might naturally seem one to be advocated by people in proportion as they attach least sacramental effectiveness to the elements, and regard the service most as a purely spiritual one of prayer and praise and thanksgiving. It is not in accord with the institution, nor with the principles of St. Paul's arguments. It seems to weaken the individual's participation, responsi-

bility, and corporate unity. The prayers are not adapted for use by non-communicants. The dismissal of all but the Faithful in old Liturgies gives no encouragement to it. The reasonableness of such half-Communion in assemblies of ill-regulated masses is intelligible; as that of refusing the Cup was, and would still often be, in elementary Churches. But in that respect both practices seem more fitly temporary than perpetual regulations. Full, separate, individual administration to great numbers is very wearing, not to priest so much as to people. The diminution of frequency in communicating, from daily breaking of bread to once at Easter or three times in the year, has these practical causes, which seem ready to influence advice and system again in our own time. It is not only imitating foreign ways or adopting foreign ideas. Rules of fasting and confession necessarily restrict Communion. If the whole Church communicated regularly under those rules, successive armies of celebrants and confessors would be required by the mere conditions of time: armies of Bishops to grant or refuse dispensations. But I do not doubt that the practice is part of a wish to follow the Roman practice of making Mass the one chief service.

That is a practical question, worthy of fuller consideration than it often receives. No service is so complete as the full Communion Service in its surroundings of its chief central Memorial. Now that hymns have ousted the Psalms from their place as interludes, it is true that the Old Testament has in it only its standing Lesson, the Commandments. But the selected double course of New Testament passages for the year, pointed by their Collects, the fuller Creed, the Sermon, and the very full and special Exhortations, form our fullest instruction; the Preparation Prayers and special Confession, Absolution, Comfortable Words, and Humble Access, with the comprehensive Intercession of the Prayer for the Church Militant, are our Church's best prayers. No form of praise and thanksgiving surpasses the *Sanctus*, the *Gloria*, and post-Communion Collects. The whole service presents, in our Church's highest embodiments, all that Mattins contains, besides its special chief office of Offertory and Memorial and Communion. Set with some great master's music, that service,

full and complete, is by far our noblest service, and might well be the one Morning Service for the Faithful.

Only this is generally simply an impossibility for our people as a service of fasting Communion. Without Communion, it is only instruction, and no service of prayer or confession, praise or thanksgiving. That must be added by Mattins. That the congregation should never hear the Commandments as their standing Sunday lesson, I believe to be a greater loss than our clergy recognise. That they should not hear the Collect, Epistle, and Gospel, is cutting off their Christian year's lessons, in which they ought to hear the whole Gospel. I regret these results of early Communion, where they follow. But clearly the Ante-Communion Service without Mattins is a very poor modicum of prayer and praise. And Mattins were made for that very purpose as a people's service.

The union of the services represents what is presumed to have been the earliest practice by those who assert that Christians never met in their assemblies without the Communion. For the Synagogue worship, which Mattins present, was clearly part of their assemblies' worship. Our practice of holding one immediately after the other was ordered for the convenience of the people; as in hill countries Morning and Evening Services have been taken without break, to have them finished and get home. But it was nothing unprincipled or unprimitive. And for ordinary people it seems now most acceptable, and is not any more unprincipled.

Still, though this is all true, I think it also true that for communicants no Sunday service can better occupy the chief place than the Communion Service alone, if full and complete, and that none admits more properly of the fullest accessories as a joyous service of praise and thanksgiving. I say 'for communicants.' It is not, like fasting, a simply personal question. Non-communicants mar the service's perfectness for the communicants, as well as destroy the corporate meaning of the Church Institution. However, a body of communicants can and will allow one another. But it is a different thing to make the Communion a priest's performance before a miscellaneous congregation, which is sometimes desired. Our service, containing no dismissal of catechumens, peni-

tents, or others, but only exhortations against careless Communion, does not rubrically exclude non-communicants; Cranmer, in fact, was afraid to go so far in the way of sudden reform as to require all to receive or depart. But, later, the removal of what notices of departure existed is ascribed to the practice of non-communicating attendance having ceased, so that they were needless. Instead of which, omission to direct people to go is taken to mean prohibition of their going. If history is brought to interpret some rubrical questions, why is it nothing here?

As regards primitive practice, the rule seems clearer in this matter than about fasting Communion, and certainly to go back beyond any date assigned to that, even to the New Testament. Those who make Fasting Communion essential *as a rule* have to explain why the rule is not essential that all present should receive. Dangers have attached to both non-fasting Communion and non-communicating attendance. If the latter is not forbidden by our Church, neither is the former. If the former is against early practice, so is the latter; and whereas the former can only be traced to an uncertain date, the latter is against a principle as well as practice of the New Testament. If the latter is revived with the view of imitating the Roman practice of 'assisting at the Communion' or 'hearing Mass,' and so identifying the Roman and English sacramental theories, I have spoken enough on that subject.

If the practice is introduced because pious souls find spiritual benefit in such half-communion at times, let no rule hinder them as a rule. Let the communicants bear with their imperfect sympathies and union, and, if some justifying principle or precedent for their presence is wanted, regard them as penitents half restored. The rubrical order to arrange the communicants in convenient position before the Communion should prevent the hindrances commonly caused by having them mixed in crowds of non-communicants. But I believe people to be quite wrong who suppose Rome to think 'hearing Mass' to be the better custom, or that it is more than a survival from past necessities, or that Rome would now begin non-communicating attendance, or be otherwise than amused

if we should take this, amongst other necessities or exaggerations or abuses, for her deliberate example. Whether adults are brought by the practice nearer to becoming communicants I have no means of judging. That is its best argument. It needs evidence. But of unconfirmed children I feel strongly that their presence contradicts Church principle, and by confusing them about their Church position endangers instead of promoting their readiness to be confirmed and so become communicants, when they seem to themselves to have been so already as much as older people round them. If the purpose be to transform the idea of the service into that of a propitiatory Sacrifice in which the priest alone is to take part, and the people to be only passive spectators, no idea is more opposed than this to the practice and principles of the primitive Churches.

Evening Communions.—I cannot speak from any personal experience about these. I have never been present at one. Personally, I feel repugnance to them. This may be from habit, but I do not think my instinct is mere prejudice. When, however, they are spoken of as ‘shocking,’ I have never been able to feel such language compatible with the circumstances of the original Institution. I might for myself adopt in regard to them the attitude of S. Chrysostom, who guarded his judgment about non-fasting Communion by asseverations that he had never himself joined in it; ‘but if anyone called it “sin,” let him then degrade Christ Himself.’ The change of hour for the Eucharist from the evening hour of the original Institution to the hours of main Church custom is well known to be obscure and uncertain both as to its facts and its reasons. It is not clear or necessary that the hour was at first the same everywhere. Christians followed their country’s method of counting days: the Jews’ and Greeks’ day began at sunset, the Romans’ at midnight. If the Eucharist began the day, its hour may have been different at first in different countries, and only made uniform, as Easter was, later and for uniformity’s sake. The letter of Pliny about Bithynia* may be irrelevant to Corinth and other places.

* See C. Plini et Trajani, Ep. xvi.

There is no evidence whatever for the assumption that S. Paul altered the hour at Corinth at the time at all. We are familiar with the imagined reasons for the change sometimes spoken of as established by Pliny's letter to be general at his time. Some say, the secrecy necessitated by persecution; others, the necessary hour for poor, especially slaves; others, the disorders exemplified at Corinth. But all these are pure conjectures, and, besides, they are reasons for what is not even professed to be proved to have been a fact.

The question of the change, and of reasons for it, appears long before the well-known letter of S. Augustine, on which the chief feeling on the subject rests. S. Cyprian, a hundred and fifty years earlier, and himself the representative ecclesiastical Father, accounts for the change by his well-known reply to Cæcilius*: 'Christ offered in the Evening, that the hour might set forth the decline and evening of the world; . . . but we celebrate the Resurrection of the Lord in the morning.' If fasting had been the reason, and was an essential principle, S. Cyprian was not the man to omit it.

In regard to Eucharistic hours, apart from fasting, I must here notice an argument which was not before me when I wrote the main part of this discussion. A paper has been presented to me by advocates of fasting Communion as the most satisfactory statement to represent their reasons.† Its chief contribution to the discussion consists of an interesting set of three historical notices, by which the writer traces backward from the Middle Ages an alleged Church rule regulating the Eucharistic hour to be on Feasts at early morning, on Fasts in the evening, on Half-fasts in the afternoon. The writer's object is to show that the hour of day was not a matter of concern to the Church, but only the rule of previous fasting. I must say frankly that the paper appears to me to answer itself.

It raises two questions: Firstly, To what date is the rule referred? Secondly, Does it depend on fasting? Now, if

* See 'Letter to Cæcilius on the Sacrament of the Cup of the Lord,' Ep. lxiii. 16.

† See 'Concerning the Fast before Communion,' by F. W. Puller. London, 1891.

the rule is supposed to refer to fasting, it can scarcely belong to the first ages. Half-fasts do not appear to have been primitive, but only late relaxations. The first fasts were, so far as we know, only the Jewish 'twice a week,' even Lent being a custom of very gradual growth. The first feasts were only Sunday, the Day of the Resurrection, and especially Easter Day, the chief Resurrection Feast: even Christmas being of later arrangement. Christians kept the Almanac of the Roman civil year, like other people, only marking on it their Sundays, and other days as they grew; but the Dictionary of Christian Antiquities (Calendar) says that near the end of the fifth century a full almanac only contained four feasts of Christ and six of martyrs. But the almanac gave, of course, the Roman civil days as divided for regular national use into *Dies Fasti*, *Nefasti*, and *Intercisi*—i.e., days of business, of no business, of half business. The Civil Law prescribed that sacrifices and recreations might begin on *Dies Fasti* in the evening, on *Nefasti* as early as wished, on *Intercisi* when business was over. At first Christian worship would have had to follow the regular rule for all worship, and so could begin, as Pagans did, in early morning on *Dies Nefasti*, in the afternoon on half-holidays, not till evening on *Dies Fasti*. But this was not by Church rule, nor in reference to fasting, but by civil law.

In that sense variety of hours of worship must have been primitive, and it would have corresponded to the variety of Eucharistic hours, traced back in the paper before me as a Church rule, but which has no meaning as a Church rule at first. In later days the Church formed its own Almanac on the Civil one, and as she transformed Pagan buildings and festivals into Christian, she made fasts, feasts, and half-holidays on the old division of civil days. But rules for beginning worship on different kinds of days would have been already established, only not in reference to fasting, but as beginning each day at the earliest hour admissible by law on the particular day. Pliny's letter probably illustrates this. The Christian irregularity was that they held an antelucan Sacrament, *stato die*, which is usually taken to mean on Sundays, and probably does so, but which means, at any rate,

'on a fixed day of their own,' which was illegal. Sundays would cause their only irregularity, as the two weekly fasts, if the Eucharist was celebrated at all on them, would throw it into the evening, when it would be always legal. The Jews' Sabbath had been a preparation in the Roman world for Sunday.

But, apart from all this account of the probable origin of variety in Eucharistic hours, what does the Church rule, traced in the paper before me, itself say? It says that the hour varied on feasts, fasts, and half-fasts. What is this but saying that the feasts, fasts, and half-fasts were existing independently of the Eucharist, which had its rules made for it by those divisions of days? So, then, the fasts were not constructed for the sake of the Eucharist, to be preparation for it, but the fasts dominated the Eucharist by not allowing that to be celebrated during their time of continuance. The rule alleged might illustrate the importance attached to fasts, as enough to dominate the Eucharist; but it is so far from illustrating that it contradicts any idea of the Eucharist requiring the fast to precede as its preparation. The principle of the regulation is that the Eucharist should begin the day. The result (though not the origin) of it was, that in all its varying hours (after the establishment of Church days in the place of Civil days) it followed fasting. And this result seems to be interpreted to have been its intention, which (from the facts of the case) it could not have been. Such a connection does not appear before the fourth century.

Very little, therefore, comes out of the interesting historical argument. S. Augustine's letter remains the chief proof of the supposed rule of fasting, and while the statement given above seems to do away with the generally supposed Church custom against evening Communion, it really leaves the question just where it was in respect of the main subject of interest, Sunday evening Communion. For Sunday the evidence remains unaltered, that in the New Testament the instances are all in the evening, and after the New Testament no instances of evening Communion have been known till these last fifty years, besides the well-known 'exception that proves the rule' on Maundy Thursday. If the hours which the Church has established are the best and truest, we are not

bound to go back to the evening, because Christ's last hours were in the evening. So says S. Augustine, I think wisely. On the other hand, as S. Chrysostom * says, though we may protest that we have not taken on ourselves to break established custom in this, yet we shall shrink from calling 'sin,' still less 'mortal sin,' that, to call which sin, would be to condemn Christ Himself.

I have dwelt so long on this side of the question, because it is on these points that strong feeling has been created in the discussion of evening Communion. I cannot myself think that evening Communion stand or fall with fasting Communion, nor even with proof of rule or custom, of which I have spoken. They depend chiefly on the practical question of their spiritual expediency; of which one side is the balance of danger to devotion, the other side requiring evidence, being their necessity or convenience approaching necessity.

I do not think it true, putting the question of fasting aside, that evening Communion are like mid-day Communion in their circumstances. Evening services all differ from morning ones. The hour, the lights, the crowd, the meals just finished, the evening companionship, and the night darkness outside and assembling, all make the character of evening services excitement rather than solemnity. I do not doubt that it has become the chief hour of church-going. Then busy mothers, housewives, servants, and Sunday labourers, are able naturally to be free, and rest from labours which do not cease on Sunday, and can go to church with nothing on their mind. I see no reason to question what I am assured by men who joined in introducing the practice, (though they have abandoned it,) that their experience was that their evening Communion never failed in reverence, quiet, or devotion. Still, they have given them up, and their judgment, therefore, is against them. They think the morning better, and the evening not necessary. My instincts make me think the former, my ignorance perplexes me about the latter.

I cannot believe the miscellaneous evening circumstances, into which I cannot go more particularly, to be the best for

* See 'Ad Cyriacum episcopum exsultantem,' Ep. cxxv., Opp. T. iii., p. 805. Paris, 1837.

the strain of spiritual mysteries. Wesleyan revivals in an excitable people have formed a warning ere now against evening spiritual excitement. Even for the quiet and devout there are disturbing elements all round. The evening temper of the Corinthians is near us all in some form or other, and in spiritual as well as other feelings 'extremes are ready to meet,' and reaction is constantly at hand. Without supposing the slightest irreverence or disorder in what I do not question being devout Communion, I do not feel them the safest or the best. Whether they are necessary to avoid wholesale excommunication of classes who cannot make themselves heard, and who may be only too ready to acquiesce in impossibilities, is the point of my doubt. I have often wondered how the classes who (practically) cannot attend morning services have opportunities for Communion. Is it a real answer to say, 'Sunday hours in houses must be reorganized'? Is it a real answer to say, 'People can come if they choose, however dependent and however distant they are'? Is it a real answer to say, 'No additional communicants are drawn, who don't come in the morning,' unless special efforts are addressed to the particular classes who cause the question to exist, to bring them and not discourage them? Fairness of trial and judgment is hard to get, and reluctance (which I think wise) to bring people generally to evening Communion may sacrifice some helpless classes.

This is my sole question. I understand the alternative to be very early celebrations, at 5 or 6 a.m. I love to hear of clergy going out to their work at the hours when their people do, and I believe it gains them sympathy for their reality. But when numbers of communicants at very early hours on Christmas and Easter Day are presented as an answer, I wish to know if they do not represent special efforts for such single days. Do they not absorb all the Sunday vitality, and make the rest of the day a protracted time of listlessness, if not idleness? Can they be frequent, or are two early Communion a year to be preferred to more frequent Communion at other hours? Can one man multiply early celebrations and do his other work all day? Experience as well as the reason of the thing shows that, (except for the particular people

sued by 8 a.m.—*i.e.*, the clergy and well-to-do young people) the change of hours, from the service most generally attended to a separate early celebration, reduces ordinary people to the minimum frequency of communicating. I am quite aware that people will judge differently which is best, fasting or frequency. I learnt early to value the rule of regular Communion, and I think frequency.

There is at least some reason to consider whether the old arrangements of the services were not the most suitable and also the most primitive. Our Church intended Mattins to precede the Holy Communion, and that Holy Communion should follow Mattins as a separate service. The practice of Winchester Cathedral till lately seems to have followed the intention in latter days best, when Mattins were at 8 and Holy Communion at 10. I read that this was the use of Southwell Minster. Celebrations before Mattins were an innovation at about the same date as celebrations after Evensong. When I was an undergraduate, I was made aware that attendance at them verged on being penal. We who have enjoyed early celebrations ought to remember that others have objected to them as much as we to evening ones. At the time they were introduced neither formed a part of party controversy, nor do I think it a worthy view to make them a party question. I adhere to my instinctive opinion that our Sunday evening services are not the best times for the Holy Communion. And I am certainly moved by the results of the very careful examinations which have led those Bishops who began them to abandon them, not lightly, but on conviction of their not being the best. But all the people cannot have the best, I am afraid. And in parishes where earnest clergy have judged, simply from knowledge of their people, that there are classes of people excommunicated by rules of early and fasting Communion, I have made up my mind, from the time that I had to form a practical judgment on the question as Bishop for this Diocese, that clergy must be trusted to balance the necessity and danger, and to employ the new method, if there is justifying occasion, with the same venture as we are ready to show in what some people feel sensational mission revivals.

Sacramental Confession.—If by this is meant, as I have gathered, that before communicating a person is bound always to make a private confession to a priest and receive private absolution, I cannot express too strongly my utter dissent from such a rule of compulsory private confession. I may be very ignorant, but I cannot understand how it can be compatible with any frequency of Communion. I own that I do not know practical details of working the system, but supposing the numbers returned as communicating on Easter Day were to be weekly, not to say daily, communicants at the early hours which would be necessary, I cannot imagine the feat of their ‘being privately confessed.’ If the object is to bring their absolution up to the moment of Communion, nothing else could even profess to satisfy this. Many things may happen in a night. Anything less complete seems to fail as much as an essential rule does if dispensation is admitted. Anything less ceases to claim discussion as Sacramental Confession, and to fall under the distinct and more general question of Compulsory Confession, or what is called the system of the confessional.

The high motive with which such a system is advocated again; the amount of laxity requiring to be braced, which it is hoped to discipline by confession; the blessing which pious people so disposed have found in its practice; and the natural fitness of offering to all who need help and advice and comfort opportunities for ‘opening their grief’—all these claim and have my full recognition. But they do not prevent my feeling, and saying most strongly, that there is no one of the medieval developments which I believe to be so deadly, both to priest and people, as the system included in the Confessional. I shall, however, only speak of its enfeebling character. A priest stands as spiritual doctor; and a doctor’s assurance to a patient that he is out of danger when his malady has reached that point is not a more real or natural help to recovery than the discreet spiritual doctor’s assurance to a spiritual patient that his repentance and amendment have reached forgiveness, and need be no more a burden. An awakened sinner may well seek such assurance before beginning to communicate. But to make it even ‘a counsel of perfection’ that pious

Christians should not draw near in faith without having a priest's permission, is an enfeebling valetudinarian system, only to be compared to healthy people being required to ask their doctor's leave to eat their breakfast. To make it a routine for all sorts and conditions of men is a system about which I happily feel no call to speak. It is to me simply incredible. We must, however, remember that the aim of Sacramental Confession professes to be Spiritual restoration, and so it represents a belief that sacramental efficacy is not mechanical or material, but depends on the spiritual condition of the recipient. In this respect it presents the same happy inconsistency with materialism as is presented by so many of the externals supposed to be associated with the Roman materialist theory.

Ceremonial.—I pass, thirdly, to the separate points of ceremonial which have caused dispute. The three questions affecting them are: (1) Are they legally admissible, either as old uses never abrogated, or as good additions not prohibited by omission of directions for them? On this question of legality I have said throughout that I am not intending now to speak at all. (2) Are they symbolic—*i.e.*, used to teach particular doctrines or ideas, or are they æsthetic—*i.e.*, used to stir worshippers through their senses? (3) If they are symbolic of doctrine, is the doctrine English or Roman? It will be simplest to take the last question first. Because none of the disputed points, the Eastward Position, Altar-lights, Vestments, Hymns, Incense, or even Ceremonial Ablutions, befit a Roman better than an English Sacramental doctrine. Neither symbolically nor æsthetically do they imply Material more naturally than Spiritual Presence of Christ. I admit that revivers of the ceremonial, when pressed not to disquiet people for trifles, have spoken darkly of their importance for 'the Doctrine'; but as they never said what doctrine, and repudiate any disloyal teaching, I suppose this to have been only a mystification to maintain the ceremonial. That sense of mystification has discredited the ceremonial, but that is not my point.

My point is that the ceremonial is more reasonably fitted

to imply the English doctrine of spiritual Presence than the Roman of material, and therefore, unless Roman doctrine be avowed, it need not be presumed; and if avowed, it should be dealt with in itself. Without ignoring the dark utterances to which I have referred, I am nevertheless convinced that the lovers of ceremonial have generally no idea of any but spiritual worship in the Sacrament. That spiritual worship is aided for them by these accessories. To them the ceremonial is not Romish nor superstitious, but an uplifting help to true spiritual worship; and it is clearer-sighted as well as larger-hearted to connect these aids with full and careful teaching of spiritual sacramental doctrine than to condemn them as conveying erroneous doctrine which does not naturally belong to them. In this respect it is that I regard Words differently from Ceremonial. Ceremonial *may* be brought in as part of Romish system, but it need not be brought in for anything but its own use, and requires teaching to make it Romish: words must be brought in for their meaning. Ceremonial not only need not suit error better than truth, but it need not mean any teaching at all beside dignity in worship.

Before ceremonies can be called symbolic, the doctrine must first be established. A doctrine once established, it will be legitimate to illustrate it by parables from ceremonial, or to create ceremonial to illustrate it by parables. But ornaments may be turned by individual fancy to all manner of parables, and it cannot be supposed that individual fancy would therefore be entitled to interpret the Church as teaching all that fancy's parables, because she uses the ornaments. The Church must interpret her emblems herself. Individuals have no right to state their own parables as Church doctrines. Flights of rhetorical fancy have been only too readily taken in all ages of the Church as matter-of-fact, definite teaching about religious emblems. Symbolism may be a poetical language of ceremonial, and poetry may be the vehicle of inexpressible truths, but it is mere arguing in a circle to imagine a particular meaning for an existing ceremonial, and then say that the use of the ceremonial proves that meaning to be recognised by the Church as true.

Of course the difference presented above between words

and ceremonies is one only of degree. Ceremonies *may* be brought in because they are Romish, and with an ulterior object of arguing in a circle about them that their acceptance means the acceptance of Romish doctrine. I am aware that much of the objection to advances in ritual has risen from suspicion of such motives, and I do not say that there has been nothing to create that suspicion. But even so they have been introduced and accepted on the professed ground of their being beautiful and helpful in themselves. And I believe most people are prepared to consider them in themselves now as æsthetic accessories simply, which may be judged as simply matters of feeling or taste.

The form of worship has itself, of course, formed a marked difference between the two Churches, apart from doctrine. But English feeling may have changed about our form of worship without its thought changing in regard to our doctrine. That it has universally so changed is clearly not true. Dislike to much ceremonial in itself exists in full strength; in some, maybe, simply from habit or 'Puritan prejudice,' but in very many from preference for simplicity over the distractions created by acts and accessories which seem trivial, or theatrical, or tedious. Older men feel that the quiet reverent company, 'where hearts are of each other sure,' which has been their ideal of Christian Communion, is more precious to them than the music, the glitter, the paraphernalia, the crowd, the half-hearted non-communicants and children, substituted for that peaceful solemnity as the highest act of worship. But this is an age when parents must obey their children; and old people ought, no doubt, to be more independent of surroundings than young, and in matters of taste and feeling, if younger Churchmanship needs to be wakened more than soothed, by all means waken it. At any rate, accessories are matters of taste or feeling, not of doctrine or principle. Their degree ought to be regulated by fitness for each congregation.

But before men condemn the development of accessories as superstitious, each should consider whether his own devotion never needs to be wakened, so that he can call it superstitious for others to wish for helps to waken theirs. I may

myself like services as short and simple as may be, I may find ceremonial distracting, and fear its becoming artificial and engrossing, and deprecate, therefore, its elaboration. Many are of this mind. They claim consideration from the clergy. But can we say that others who love richness of music, art, and ceremony, must be less real or more superstitious than ourselves? When I think how devotion flags, even at the most solemn services, I cannot call it superstition to concentrate devotion up to its fullest tension, at least for one central moment, by any aids which may stir people's senses as well as thought to waken them out of themselves to worship. That is the aim of Sacramental Ceremonial, and in that aim it is not symbolic, but æsthetic; it is not doctrinal, but emotional; it is not Romish, but human. The Spiritual Presence supposed by every act of worship is surely enough to make a real believer in It bow down even to the ground, without suspicion of disloyalty, superstition, idolatry. The more we insist on the spiritual operation of the Sacrament on the soul, the more natural we make it to add to the act of worship every appeal available to stir the worshipper's spirit to its fullest activity and most impressionable self-surrender. Were it a material power in the Elements to which we looked to transmute the soul through the body, such material operation might dispense with art and ceremonial. Ceremonial is no doubt in one aspect the public expression of the joint homage of the whole body of worshippers to God; but even therein it seems to carry each separate worshipper away to join that homage of praise to the Spiritual Presence, which is the centre of all worship, and in that self-surrender to communion with Him. Spirit seeks the operation of Spirit in the Sacrament. Surely, and even therefore, the human spirit—compounded as it is of divers parts, not only of reason, memory, and thought, but of sensations also, which so enwrap our attention—finds help in stirring accessories of ceremonial.

I will now touch the several points disputed.

Eastward Position.—When I supposed that the natural meaning of a Rubric's words was the only point to determine, I came to the opinion that (the table being shaped and placed

as it is, and end not being side), the only question answered exactly by the rubric's direction was, Is the priest to begin by standing at the centre or the north side? And though very ready to stand at the north end, when so ordered, I judged myself the literal phrase to be more exactly satisfied by standing at the north front corner. But I am lapsing into legal questions, and will pass on. The change from north end to west side is the most observable of the changes, and it may be used most perversely to contradict the spirit of our service, if the priest is led to imitate Romish practice in making acts or prayers secret.

But in itself it is congregational rather than sacerdotal, according to the reply of the Bishops to the Puritans, that 'For what is addressed to the people, it is fit to turn towards them, but for joining with them in prayer, to turn with them.' In this respect it is like the adoption of surpliced choirs, processional entrances met by congregational rising, a choir-seat instead of reading-desk for the minister, and other unifications of minister with people, instead of the parson's separate dress, entrance, and position. It has sometimes been wondered, that people anxious to emphasize the Consecration did not welcome the Judgment that the Consecration should be marked by the priest moving then to the front from the north end. Mechanical retort wonders that people who were not anxious for that, did not welcome the permanent eastward position which diminished that emphasis.

For the Consecration I cannot question that the natural position is at the front centre, and that the process of carrying the vessels round to the north end is needless clumsiness. For the earlier part of the service, the north end may reasonably have been adopted that the minister might see the people and be heard by them. It would represent the principle of our Church that the services ought to be 'understood of the people.' The fitness of the eastward position does not extend to 'what is addressed to the people,' whether Scripture, exhortations, sermon, or notices. But as a fact it does not usually impede the people's hearing, but only the minister's seeing. Nor does it make any difficulty about 'the manual acts' being seen. If men brood over the Elements on their

elbows, as for some secret performance, that is a wilful violation of the Rubric, but it is difficult to see how such an undignified attitude can be called sacrificial or sacerdotal. In the Middle Ages it was called necromantic.

Altar and Altarwise Position.—When or why Western Churches adopted the table-shape and east wall place is an unsolved problem. They were not primitive, nor are they Eastern Christian, any more than they were Jewish, Greek, Roman, or Egyptian. An altar is an altar from its use, not its position. Our usual present position suits churches built to it, and forms a chief centre to unite worship. But in many of our deep chancels, the primitive place at the arc of the presbytery would serve as well; and still better the place, used in some foreign churches, at the east of the nave. Disengagement from the east wall does not make a table, nor east wall place an altar. A tablewise position might be made by setting seats round and making communicants sit round, but all the rubrics of our service contradict that usage. As contrast to that, any arrangement which supposes worship and kneeling may be called altarwise. But whether Altar, as the place for sacrifice, is English or Romish, is simply the question what sacrifice is meant. This we have discussed before. As a place for slaying a victim it is not primitive or English, whether it be Romish or not. As a place for presenting offerings it is primitive, and may well be English, though our Liturgy does not employ it. Wherever and in the same sense as sacrifice is retained in our Liturgy, altar is its correlative. But ‘the Lord’s Table’ scarcely differs from Altar. It does not imply a social meal of men, but the Lord’s Feast offered to God in His Memorial, from which His sacred food is ministered to His servants, kneeling in sacred obeisance at reverent distance. So regarded, Table and Altar are the same. Still, it is true that altar is more entirely a word of religion, and supposing, of course, its meaning to be rightly defined by true teaching about our sacrifice, the satisfaction of its greater solemnity involves no superstition. Our Church uses the word in one of her services. Our Lord directs His disciples to bring their gifts to the altar. Though ‘Table’ is a name in use in the

early writers, Altar is the name of most natural and common use. Its revival among us is too general to bear any special controversial meaning, and marks only a sense of sacred dignity.

Altar Lights.—The symbolism attributed to these could not be called Romish, at any rate, but really it seems disabled by diversity of interpretation—*e.g.*, the Divine and human nature of Christ, the Word and the Spirit, the Old and New Testaments, etc. Two lights may symbolize any pair of illuminating powers, but without authoritative interpretation they symbolize none in particular. They give a feeling of life. Flame has been felt in all religions the most immaterial symbol of living unearthly power and purity. One central unextinguished light, like that of Vesta, might be more fitting than the pair of candles, which have to be unnaturally gigantic not to look like furniture. So in Roman churches a constant lamp makes them feel alive. Only then its symbolism of a living presence is contradicted by the other more special Romish symbol to which it is attached. So our 'altar-lights' would be contradictory symbols of Christ's Presence at the time when sacramental symbols are presenting Him otherwise. But no meaning can be attached to them which would make them imply Romish more than English doctrine. At first they were lighted at the Gospel, to signify the Light of the World. Feeble as they are in broad daylight, they suggest disparaging questions. If they were adduced as evidential survivals of very Early Celebrations, they might consistently be disused at hours when forced meanings have to be invented to account for lights. 'Altar candlesticks' stood not only in cathedrals and colleges when I was a boy, but in very un-Romish churches, before Early Celebrations were revived or evening Communion invented. The candles were not lighted. So little did the churchwardens value their lighting power that when evening services were begun in our parish church a very un-Romish old lady had to provide wax candles, that the altar might not be the only dark place. Possibly churchwardens would not now keep lights burning through the week—at least, in churches where people do not resort. But to many people

an ever-burning light would be a simple and meaning symbol, fitted for all times, when more specially Christian symbols are not presenting more special teaching. Candles lighted ceremonially during the service belong, of course, to a distinct subject already discussed, as sensational dramatic accessories.

Vestments.—The ritual of special vestments for the Sacrament and the ritual of a black gown for preaching need not now be discussed. Special dress for marriages, funerals, Sacraments, and seasons has much to say for itself. So has the unchanging ministry presenting itself the same in all its offices. I was glad when the black gown was simplified away even from sermons which were not so clearly parts of the service as those in the Communion Service. I am well pleased that my official scarf does not change colour. But when I wear my Cathedral cope, as the Canons bid me, I feel no change of doctrine induced in me by it. Even a richer one would not make me contradict the Prayer Book. Chasubles are still *sub judice*, but as regards symbolism, if chasubles are called ‘sacrificial’ (which I think a very unhistoric account of their origin), that only brings up again the twice-discussed question about the meanings of Sacrifice. But when vestments are said to be essential for ‘doctrine,’ I wonder what the doctrine can be which was not able to be held, say, by Keble or Pusey, who were certainly not Vestiarrians. Rich dresses are things in themselves. As I said in my last Charge, travellers liked their unaccustomed gorgeousness, and wanted to have at home what they admired abroad. It was not as symbolizing doctrine, but as more beautiful, that those who liked these liked them, and the objections about them have rested on preference for simplicity over magnificence. No doubt taste for the former has been called Puritan, taste for the latter Popish, but people are now generally prepared to judge them on their merits apart from either prejudice. For it is prejudice alike to say, Vestments show false teaching, or Teaching depends on vestments. Vestments are of all things matter for each Church to regulate, and in each Church its regulations need not prescribe uniformity. In cathedrals, parish churches, private chapels, such accessories may fitly

differ in proportion. Rules for parish churches must respect the old maxim, '*Sectetur partem conclusio deteriore*,' and not prescribe impossibilities for the poor. But that would not be a sensible limitation on private chapels, where taste and cost are no public concern.

Music.—No symbolism is attached to music simply. The general question of its use as an accessory has been enough discussed. It is the accessory which by common consent may most reasonably be used sometimes and omitted at others. Our special sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving is, as such, a service for music. Our special Communion Service is more peaceful without, for people who wish to pray: though hymns during times of waiting may help those who have no thoughts of their own. To protract early celebrations with tedious music at unmusical hours keeps people away. Music, beautiful at S. Paul's, is distressing in a Midland village. But these are all questions of feeling or expediency. Music belongs to praise if to anything. In regard to music at the Sacrament, the objections have been to particular hymns, and on the ground that they imply Romish doctrine. I have been unable to see that the *Agnus Dei* is more Romish at one time in the service than at another, and if any hymn is fitting for the moment when worshippers are dwelling specially on Christ's atonement, it is that. A Spiritual Presence is more fitted to be saluted with the hymns, 'Blessed is He that cometh in the name of the Lord,' and 'O Lamb of God, that taketh away the sins of the world,' than any imagination of a material presence, of which such words could only be imperfectly true in a lower sense. The *Benedictus* has indeed disappeared from our Communion Service, but all the other music, composed by the great masters for the Roman Mass, are settings for words forming parts of our service, and their music has no Romishness about it, nor are lovers of their music more Romish for being so. The music is the music.

Incense.—This is probably to most English people the most foreign accessory, and it has probably been most advocated for symbolism. But I think that really it is of all

the one most a matter of taste. It will scarcely represent to many the presence of the Holy Spirit, which is its interpretation, except when it is said to present the upfloating of prayers, because in the Revelation the incense of heaven is said to be the prayers of saints. Either meaning is, however, at any rate apart from Roman controversy. Nothing could fall more completely under the general question of more or less accessories. It may be to some an uplifting, sensuous accessory, to others an unmeaning distraction, or even a distasteful annoyance. I have no taste for it, but if it is to be used, I must say that I have no sympathy with the special limitation imposed on its use. New light may perhaps rank it with other accessories in this. Its foreignness is its objection, and though our chilly, dark climate might seem to make it just the accessory for our churches, it feels to me to befit better the finer Southern atmospheres where it does not hang heavy like a fog. A graver æsthetic doubt about its fitness for us lies in its performance. The more subtle the accessory, the finer must be its exhibition. Soundless Southern movements and sentimental Southern faces in natural accord with ceremonial seem to belong to the dreamy influence of incense. Rough honest Englishmen and shy awkward English boys swing censers with less fascinating artlessness than supple Southern acolytes, with Southern quickness formed by heredity and drill to perfect artistic simplicity. I have been censured by even a trained English curate, but the force and enjoyment of his thoroughness were not ethereal, nor its unexpected influence uplifting. However, if the drill is worth the time, incense is only one more sensuous accessory of movement, cloud, and fragrance, occupying people's senses with effects which grow to be associated with church and worship. It is neither sacred nor heretical, but a matter of taste.

Gestures.—In the remaining small point of minor gestures, such as crossings, genuflections, elevations, prostrations, the question is not so clear. For crossings, bowings, turnings, genuflections, the regulating principle seems to be their reality and adequate dignity, and that will set limits to frequency

and demonstrativeness, so as to avoid as far as possible the impression or the feeling of rule, routine formality, and attitudinizing. For example, to bow in obeisance to the Divine Presence on entering and leaving church, is only what belief in that Presence suggests naturally to all who would show such respect to human dignity or friend. But perpetual repetitions are as much out of place in one case as the other. To turn to the east at the recital of Creeds is one of the oldest Church forms of special profession, which is liable to be weakened by frequent repetitions at other points of the service. But the personal reality of reverence in leader and teacher will be the conditioning element of reality to all enlisted in a system of such minor acts. That they help devotion as constant reminders is clearly very often true; that they may be formal fidgets hard to maintain with meaning is no less often true. Their fitness is marred by multiplication, which tends to lower them to triviality from solemnity. But it is rare now to see excess in such demonstrativeness, and the reduction of trivial mannerisms in the present decade encourages the assurance that nothing sickly or theatrical survives long. When made parts of ministerial ceremonial, I cannot speak of them so simply. Sometimes they seem to contradict the solemn unity of greater acts by being made petty and distracting adjuncts to them, as in Benediction the sign of the Cross brings in a second contrary idea, which, if of constant truth, has no fitness for acts of special character. Still this scarcely needs observation. I cannot say this of some elevations and prostrations. No impulsive uplifting can be too high for offerings to God, no obeisance too low for the great mercies of God, of which the Sacrament is memorial. Prostration is more reasonable for a believer than to sit unmoved from mere fear of soiling dress or trouser. But it is not in transport of impulsive worship that the paten is lifted, not in the manner of offering, but in the manner of exhibition, with ingenious devices to present a wafer over the priest's head to the people behind; and if a priest takes on himself at the moment of such artificial elevation, to interpolate into a service, to every minute point in which importance is attached, 'Behold the Lamb of God'; and if

after such special act and words he prostrates himself; he cannot expect ordinary comprehension to discriminate that particular combination of acts and words from the 'Idolatry to be abhorred of all faithful Christians,' which is so clearly, in the last Rubric of our Communion Service, declared not to be taught or countenanced in that service. Ceremonial accessories, and even hymns, stand in varying degrees outside of the office; but if a priest presumes to omit sentences because he does not like them, or introduce sentences to emphasize his particular views, his fault is the more serious from the importance attached by him to the alterations, and the importance which he knows to be attached to the service.

The Mixed Chalice.—This seems made a question of archæology, not of doctrine; to be revived, not for symbolism, but for unity with primitive and general practice. Few could think of mixing wine and water as a symbol of the union of priest and people. I do not know that anyone disputes that the Cup must have been mixed at the Paschal Institution. In the Mediterranean regions of primitive Christianity, wine was not drunk at meals without water. Unmixed wine was called '*sheer*,' and to drink it was what drinking raw spirits is with us. That the Sacramental Chalice under special circumstances was diluted to an extreme degree, sufficing to meet total abstainers' difficulties, we learn from S. Cyprian. But the argument from this to ourselves rests on the disputable premiss, that we are bound to have the same Cup as that of the Institution, which might as well require the wine to come from Palestine. A ceremonial drop of water in the wine is not the original Cup, of half wine, half water. And if that Cup was diluted, not for any ceremonial symbolism, but (which is the only basis of assuming that it was diluted at all) only because it was the way of drinking customary in the country at the time, it would seem that it gave us the example of using the Cup customary in each country. In England it has been often, and even judicially, thought a cheat to water the wine, and the best and richest wine has been the rule for provision. Such an idea seems as honourable as that of uniformity with countries of different habits. It is an abuse

of language to speak of an unmixed Cup separating us from Catholic Christendom ; as it would be to say that, because at the feast of unleavened bread the bread at the Institution was unleavened, therefore the sacramental bread must always be unleavened ; or because the Institution was in an Upper Chamber, the Sacrament must always be in an upper chamber ; or because there were twelve Apostles, there must always be. All which things have been said by different people. I only observe further : Firstly, that the disuse of water is an alteration distinctly made in our service. Secondly, that if the Cup is mixed, it seems more worthy to do it openly. Thirdly, that if customs have varied as to the time and place of mixing, even custom leaves that open. Fourthly, that the unmixed Cup is what the Rubric directs.

Ceremonial Ablutions.—On the last of the ritual points I shall be thought, perhaps, unreasonable myself in having personal feeling about a point which has now been judged to be outside of all consideration. The name had seemed to me to imply that they were regarded as ceremonial, and the elaborateness of gradation prescribed for their execution has baffled my attainment. Why unconsecrated wine should be subject for so much more precise order than consecrated, I have not been instructed, nor how, after the most scrupulous execution, the object can be secured that no infinitesimal solution of the consecrated wine should remain to be absorbed by the final abstersion. But these questions have not exercised me so much as what seems to me (strangely, perhaps, but very decidedly) to be the inconsistent irreverence of cleansing the vessels upon the place which those who advocate the practice exalt to the highest sacredness. Be it Table, or be it Altar, how is the Place of Sacred Feast, still more if it is the place of sacrifice, the place for cleansing vessels ? I desire that all things be done decently and in order : I would not call scrupulosity superstitious : I see the matter left for reverent discretion : but Rabbinical minuteness has no dignity, and the method of ceremonial ablutions seems to me to frustrate its purpose of reverence. I do not myself undertake them. Where they are wished, I leave them to the clergy

responsible. They offend my sense of fitness, however unreasonably.

If I am expected to say what I should myself direct for this necessary work, which is judged to be no part of the service, and for which no directions have been thought necessary by our Church, I am content, so far as reverence is concerned, that the vessels be cleansed at the Credence Table. But I prefer that, the service ended, no state of slovenly disorder be thought fit in church, but that the vessels be left 'covered with a fair linen cloth,' either in their place or on the Credence Table, while the people go away; and that afterwards one of the clergy should return for the vessels and cleanse them at the piscina, if there be one, or in the vestry or sacristy. I do not mean that cleansing the vessels is a priestly office, or that laymen are not holy enough for that. But I gladly welcome the clergy's reverent care.

These are the thoughts which I have for some time prepared to lay before the Diocese on these disputed points of ritual. I hope that they may come as ghosts flitting over deserted battlefields, shadows of judgments which might have interested when they were suppressed. I have spoken untechnically, and left law and the courts alone. Not that I think that no one regards them, for I believe that much of the past distress has been only caused by doubts if things might legally be done; and now that new light has shown old mistakes, such people will feel happily relieved of a responsibility. But that has not been my particular object, but rather to use this opportunity of my Visitation to publish my opinions on questions which I have been asked during these years, when circumstances imposed reserve at the time, but which I feel it due to the Diocese and also to myself to take the first proper opportunity of answering publicly.

May I say that what has struck me most repeatedly in these discussions is, that the objections raised on the points insisted on by what I must venture to call different schools in the Church have been just the opposite to what I should myself have expected their principles, as generally understood, to suggest? This has often encouraged me to hope that fresh con-

sideration of such points may so shift their aspects as to extend greatly the range of agreement, and also to reduce differences from the level of principles to the level of personal preferences.

Some of the questions have come into the public arena since I was engaged on this publication, but I have scarcely had occasion to add anything in consequence.

Some considerations on particular points in the Communion Service I have omitted, because a very able and complete treatment of the Communion Service has been published by the Bishop of Salisbury* as his Visitation Charge for 1891, which I commend to my brethren, and which I feel it superfluous to repeat.

As I began so I will end, by saying that in the Midlands it is rare for questions about Eucharistic doctrine and methods to be raised. It does not follow that when they rise they are not acute, or that I have not had occasion to reflect on them. But I do not think that cases are more than singular where the people have cause to complain of want of considerateness on the part of their clergy. Nor do I find that if a clergyman is a man of zeal and sympathy with his people, and is respected for his character and sense of duty, there is much disposition on the part of the people to quarrel with his methods, even if they are not what would be chosen by them.

Varieties of method affect town parishes comparatively little, now that our town churches interchange parishioners so freely. In villages, adherence to the methods of the Prayer Book is of the gravest consequence, both as the *via media* in which all may unite, and as what villagers can feel comes to them with full authority. What they expect, and have a right to expect, is loyalty to the Church of England as represented to them by the Prayer Book. Loyalty to the Church of England as her ministers and human sympathy with English people as brothers, are the two things needful in clergy for trust and regard. To believe in the Church of England and in the English people is an English clergyman's earthly wisdom and strength. No other Church combines the excellencies of the Church of England for the free, sober, thought-

* See 'The Holy Communion,' by John Wordsworth, D.D. Oxford, 1891.

ful, independent, God-fearing people of England, whose religious reverence has been formed on the Bible and by the Sunday. Other nations may have formed theirs on other bases. That does not so much concern us. *Spartam nactus es, hanc orna.* English people are our people; it is for them English clergy have to live and think, and work and pray.

The primitive way of being Catholic was to be National, and that is, and, let us hope will long continue, our English way. The Bidding Prayer calls on us to pray for Christ's Holy Catholic Church, especially that pure and Apostolic Branch of it established in this Realm. But we need not care to assert that, by adding an epithet to its name of Church of England, any more than we need state its history as being, not a Church which joined simply, like German princes, in protest against Roman errors, but a Church which reformed them. It need not call itself Catholic or call itself Reformed, but simply the Church of England. Its standard is the Prayer Book. Laxity of custom seems to condone neglect which falls short of our Prayer Book's directions; but such neglect is as lawless as excess beyond them, and it furnishes a natural justification *ad hominem* against complaints of excess. The Prayer Book is the rule which the clergy have promised to follow, and whatever can be shown to be ordered in it will be accepted by the people. It is a noble inheritance, with which the clergy and the people will be wise to be content, and to unite in developing the robust Churchmanship contained in its principles. The young and earnest require some subject of contention, in which they shall be better than their fathers. May they seek it where it is to be found, in the spiritual war with sin and misery and ignorance and discord, which fills the social life of our crowded and struggling population! May they as true sons of the Church of England see and keep the true law of proportion, in which specially our Church seeks to follow the Gospel! May they contend for the weightier matters of the Law, justice, mercy, and truth, and their Ceremonial will be real and reverent! *Praecipuè in Christi pace permaneat.*

THE THIRD CHARGE

CHURCH AND STATE

PART I.—CHURCH LEGISLATION.

DELIVERED IN THE CATHEDRAL CHURCH OF S. MARY THE VIRGIN,
AT SOUTHWELL, MAY 4, 1896, BEING THE THIRTEENTH
YEAR OF THE BISHOP'S CONSECRATION.

In the beginning of this Charge the Bishop stated that he had visited at least twice (and in the case of the large parishes annually, or oftener) 488 out of the 492 parishes of the Diocese, that he had held services in 485 of them, and that he had at his own cost completed Bishop Trollope's unfinished work at the Old Palace at Southwell. He spoke of the condition of the Diocese with regard to confirmations, ordinations; supply of curates, lay readers; new churches, mission chapels, vicarages; church restorations; changes and death of clergy; and the difficulties encountered in the consecration of burial-grounds. He then said:

THE question of Church patronage is very much where it was when I spoke last about it. The patronage questions in the Bill now before the House of Commons have been often and fully discussed both in Convocation and in Conferences all over the country. From the earliest days of Church law, both Church and State have recognised advowsons to be property vendible under temporal laws, but only advowsons. That a man should present himself to a living was forbidden by Canons, and must always have been allowed by connivance rather than regarded as fitting. The place assigned to parish approval in the acceptance of a patron's nomination has been more discussed than anything, and probably the proposed interval of notice for information may be the best provision. These are the main points of dispute, and I will

only repeat that the Bill appears to me to deal rightly with them.

It has not been by the wish of the Bishops that patronage has been again mixed up with clergy resignations in the House of Commons Bill now before the country. This is the one point of significance in it. It means that the rising generation of Churchmen in Parliament regard it as the condition of their continued support of the National Church as such, that clergy who do not satisfy full requirements of efficiency, or who disable their position by faults of special kinds, shall be removable. I do not doubt that everyone, clergy as well as laity, feels the grave scandal created by the fact of incumbents having been irremovable for neglect, incompetence, or wrongheadedness, which would have disqualified them for secular official positions of similar trust. It cannot but be a satisfaction that the rising Churchmen desire a high standard of diligence and character in their clergy. I only hope they will not be disappointed if their efforts do not answer their hopes of overcoming the very special difficulties which have defeated previous similar attempts.

Experience of them has shown that there are at least these three difficulties: (1) The kind of neglect intended to be stopped is very difficult to measure for penal purposes by any standard of proof practicable for the kind of Commission proposed. (2) No temporary removal will make people put the Act in motion. (3) A Commission will not turn a man out of a living for indefinite negligence without pension. The Bill is clearly, carefully planned to be both considerate and effective. But the fact is, that if a parish cannot afford provision for a man to resign, neither can it for the modes of eviction proposed. And even where that difficulty is surmounted, the real difficulty of all this procedure remains. I really do not know how it can be met by legislation—I mean the difficulty of defining and establishing such a negative fault. A Bishop may feel entitled to point this out, for it will be the Bishop who will have to act, not as judge, but as prosecutor and attorney, ‘to get up the case.’ I have long been convinced that legislation cannot define neglect of such

indefinite nature. Nothing but personal estimate can do it. A Bishop might do so, as in primitive jurisdiction, or as a Head of any department dismisses officials by responsible act; a jury of the clergy and deanery might, as early custom meant, on their own knowledge judge like a Court-martial.

But I must hope that, if I am called upon to satisfy expectations by executing this Bill more successfully than we have been able to do the last, the Bill will do one of two things: either define neglect or trust official responsibility. The responsibility of judging may make a Bishop less ready than legislators to regard legislators' intentions, apart from executive proceedings. The advantages of ancient systems must be counterbalanced, I do not doubt, by disadvantages, which it is the office of each generation to try to remedy. That is all that this Bill proposes. The defects of our system of Patronage and Life Tenure are the defects, and not the system on which they have grown by oversights. All measures to prevent abuses crept in through slackness ought to strengthen the system, and are no injustice.

We have, however, had experiments made for us by other religious bodies as to various methods of appointing ministers, devised in great part to be contrasts to our weaknesses. But those experiments are rather warnings than encouragements to follow. The question about a change of system would be, Will it raise or lower the Ministry? But this Bill does not propose any change of system. And the question about it is, Will its procedure work, as just and possible, to keep the existing system up to its intended and proper level? If the Bill becomes law the Bishops will, I do not doubt, desire that it should be so worked that the old age of the faithful pastor living on in the love of his people shall not be disturbed; and when the time is come that infirmity should not be left to hold the helm, see that the provision needed for due service shall first be made by the parish, or otherwise, and that the methods be reasonable. The Act provides, in the unfortunate cases where mental failure has hitherto had no legal method for release for the Church, with procedure to make resignation possible. But in these and in all cases, except culpable neglect, the parish or diocese ought to be expected, either by

pension or curate's stipend, to bear temporarily the charge of a small living, which, if without endowments, it would have to bear always. Life tenure has been the condition on which livings have as yet been accepted, and it is a substantial part of the system.

But the procedure of the Act requires a further very different provision. I shall not carry all my clerical brethren with me, but I believe that the constitutional revival of the voice of the people in the Church by instruments of parochial authority is what is wanted, and that it is ecclesiastically a primitive and legitimate part of Church government. It would go to the root of the matter if our happily resolute Church legislators turned their attention to construct some parochial Chapter or select Vestry, who should not have to take action as individual complainants appearing only in that unpleasant capacity which is so distasteful to a peaceful parishioner, but who should exist for good offices of help to the Church generally, as an authority for responsibilities financial and regulative, and have some effective power to represent the feelings of the people about all Church affairs.

It was wise not to attach separate ecclesiastical provisions to the new Local Government Act intended for purely secular business, but that Act, by having divided affairs secular and ecclesiastical, has prepared the way for the distinct business of restoring Church efficiency to the vestry, and on that our Church legislators may base a select vestry of advisers with power to make advice effective.

Such bodies might in many parishes take no more action and feel no more call on them than parish councils often have. But if they existed for order, for strength, for defence, for interest, for satisfaction generally, they would also be there, if discipline required that parochial representations should be judged upon official responsibility. The invidiousness of personal complaints liable to charges of libel would be at once changed into the judicially measured duty of official remonstrance without personal feeling or fear. The same consciousness of want of special ecclesiastical knowledge, the same practical sense of the wisdom of trusting management to the officer in charge, the preference for peace and deference

in religion to disputes and self-assertion, as well as the mere balance of opinions sure to exist, would in general leave matters practically unchanged, wherever confidence was felt and rights recognised, only with the happier feeling of partnership in management, limited, not by authority, but confidence.

But in the exceptional cases of necessity there would also be a more effective and more constitutional remedy for the weaknesses of an existing system caused by the position to which it has drifted out of primitive or National Church relations. I feel that in our towns generally this primitive system exists in more or less degree by natural growth and fitness, and in proportion as it exists (however informally) in recognised sentiment, in that proportion Church feeling is strong in maintenance of what the people feel their own. It may work somewhat hardly sometimes, where it is new, but that is from inexperience, due to disuse. Experience brings it to work justly and considerately. It may not be so easy to work in the country. Possibly, as I have said, it would often result that goodwill to work it as a reality would practically satisfy, and very little more would sometimes come of it. But that recognition would be everything, if it were made real and effective. Prime Ministers might think it easier to govern without Cabinets, Cabinets without Parliaments, but they find it easier with them than not at all. That is the point. To any clergy who may be thinking that clergy policy should be to intensify clergy autocracy, to make clergy separate, to claim that clergy law should be apart from general law, I venture to express my distinct opinion that they are rolling back into an exploded delusion, and that every step apart from the people is a step apart from the Church of England.

On the other hand, I find our Church laity at present shy and diffident about separate action or organization for the Church by themselves. Partly they have been hitherto encouraged not to take it up; partly they have other business which mingles them with people of all denominations; partly they think it provided officially by the clergy; partly they are

not personally keen in interest for what they take for granted. The one set of laymen who have worked in independent spirit with interest as for an object of deep concern to themselves have been the organizers of the Church Defence Institution.* I hardly think that they received due recognition, I do not say of their services only, but of their spirited origination and maintenance of their work, both in time before it was officially attempted, and on lines more and more accepted as true. I hope that that work has been now fully recognised, and that, while bringing together the threads of Church operation into chief central hands, the Heads of the Church have united to place the Church Defence Institution with authority in the front of its old work, in which, as a volunteer force, it had ramified through the country as need gave opportunity.

I hope that in our own Diocese our diocesan and other committees and secretaries of the combined organizations may during the summer collect their forces and revive activities, which will have to be as permanent and alert as the other political or industrial agencies which undertake the maintenance or extension of great causes and principles. Those agencies are not afraid or tired of repeating and repeating their facts and arguments till they get them into people's heads. They have, maybe, nothing new to urge, but so long as they find them new to their hearers, so long they are new enough to go on repeating. Our Church facts are truths as old as our history. But they are unknown to many people who only want to hear them. We have not nearly repeated them enough yet. The old Liberationist fictions are being repeated and repeated, and our people want the answers. Church Doctrines, Church Establishment, Church Principles, Clergy Incomes, Clergy Work, Tithes and Endowments, are as frantically misrepresented as ever.

If, as I have been before saying, it is on satisfaction with the present rather than on history of the past that Englishmen generally will care enough to make efforts, it is nevertheless true that it is on repeated fallacies and fictions that unin-

* The Diocesan Branch of the Society, now called 'The Church Committee for Church Defence and Church Instruction.' Its headquarters are at the Church House, Westminster.

structed Churchmen are put at disadvantage, and answers to those fictions cannot be too often or too simply repeated. If we suppose that the National Church question was settled by the last election, we had better hear Mr. Asquith consider the last Nottingham School Board election in its connection with present Liberationist action, and take into account the new co-operative alliance of the freelances of the so-called Free Churches. The traditional immobility of Church-people, and their unreadiness to do or say anything which could be even misrepresented to be aggressive or offensive, would be more admirable if it were not so much favoured by human laziness, or if their opponents recognised that reserve, instead of imputing aggressive selfishness to the Church, all the more virulently because they are left undisputed.

Quiet people dread disturbing good feeling by Church Defence meetings. Good feeling ought not to be disturbed by them. Good feeling on both sides ought (and has shown itself glad) to welcome truth being made known. It ought to be made known with good feeling, and good feeling ought to make it known. Only bad feeling ought to be disturbed by Church Defence meetings, and bad feeling ought to be disturbed. And there is no better opportunity than when bad feeling has been shown, and bad arguments used in nasty attacks and false sneers. Replies made with good feeling have then their best chance of being heard with attention, and being made effective by interest. But our Church Committees are not intended only to provide lectures, etc.—useful as that main method is—but rather to form an enrolled Order of Church members in each parish, pledged to maintain and invigorate the Church with the same steadfast idea of a great National cause as inspires the activity of the standing political or social organizations. I hope that each village enrolment will have (as Shakespeare says of bees) ‘officers of sorts’: men and women who in any way have advantages of opportunity or personal influence, knowledge, and spirit for guiding and enlivening Church knowledge and sympathy. The Diocese is fortunate in having archidiaconal secretaries, men in every way possessed of just the qualities to be desired. With effective secretaries in every rural deanery, I hope to see

them able to enrol every parish in action and pledged interest in the cause.

I know that it has been the idea of the devoted originators of the organization that the clergy should be spared what seems justly to be the office of the laity. But they have learnt by experience in how increasingly wide districts of the country lay links for such network are hard for outside laymen to find in other parishes. And much as I appreciate the motives on which laymen wished themselves 'to promote their office,' I desire—as I feel myself called, and have called on our rural deans, to supplement without supplanting the laity in their good work—so to ask the clergy in their parishes to do what in them lies, in whatever ways in their judgment seem best, to take part by advising, encouraging, selecting, or themselves arranging the most effective links they can of parochial agencies.

Brethren, it is our duty to do our earthly part in strengthening the Church for the honour of God and the edification of His people. It is the duty of us all, both clergy and laity. But you will not expect me to direct your main thoughts to these earthly offices, nor to look on your efforts for its power. We shall, I trust, go forth in the strength of the Lord God, and make mention of His righteousness only. Lift up your hearts unto the Lord, and let us give thanks unto our Lord God, as it is meet and right for us to do. The Lord hath been mindful of us; let us trust that He will bless us. In quietness and confidence may be our strength, if only our work be done, our desires ruled, our trust made steadfast in the heart-prayer, 'Thy will be done.'

PART II.—CHURCH LAW.

DELIVERED IN THE CHURCH OF S. MARY, NOTTINGHAM, MAY 5, 1896.

The subject on which I wish to speak to you to-day is, What is Church Law? I do not mean what laws are there for the Church, nor from what sources can they be compiled, but what is the idea of Church law? What is meant by the phrase? and what is its distinctive value? It becomes of practical importance to ask this, because Churchmen have

been lately a good deal urged to regard Church law rather than State law, when they conflict, and it is difficult for this exhortation to be carried out before it is explained whether the Church law intended is law framed by the Church, or law administered by the Church, or law dealing with the Church. And before this can be explained, it is essential to be informed what is meant by the Church. Is it the Clergy?

I have myself had occasion lately several times to consider resolutions sent by ruridecanal Conferences or by English Church Union meetings, which urged the duty of obedience to the Church's law. I have hoped to elicit by inquiry some solution of my question, What is Church Law? It has been gratifying (I may almost say reassuring) to be told that the Prayer Book, at any rate, is the Church's law. Some have added, 'Churchmen cannot go behind the Prayer Book; they must at least accept the Prayer Book as final and unquestionable.' Others have added, 'It does not matter what made the Prayer Book law: it *is* the Church's law.' I say these replies are gratifying, because a practical recognition of a standard of obedience incumbent on all Churchmen is more valuable than theory about it; and that the Prayer Book should be asserted as supreme and final, as a law which Churchmen must not question, overrule, or disparage, is reassuring, in the face of a frequently apparent disregard for its rules, even in some of its chief points. But these same replies indicate considerable haziness about the issue presumably raised by the phrase 'Church Law,' if that issue refers to the legislative authority that framed or that can enforce. Some haziness appears, too, about its judicial administration. Chancellors form the ordinary Courts of Church law. Are Chancellors' decisions final to Churchmen?

The question which I am asking is, How were laws made to be Church laws, not State laws? Do we mean by Church laws laws made and administered by clergy? Or is there a hazy idea of some general Church Law of Christendom? That is too shadowy an idea to treat except in general ways, until specimens are presented which shall show the sense in which they are called Church laws. I sometimes find our Lord's utterances quoted as Church laws, and in an un-

technical sense they are, of course, laws for the Church, meaning all Christians, the Church lay and clerical, which ought to make them State laws on Christian principles. But in comparisons of Church and State laws, it is lax ambiguity to call such utterances Church laws as distinct from Christian State laws, unless they have been made definitely into Church laws, and then their original authority must not be mixed up or confused with the Church legislation upon it. Christ's utterances must be rather termed Principles or Commandments in such technical discussions, and have their authority asserted on quite a distinct plane, not to be lowered down to Church laws. Moreover, it will be necessary that the proper application and interpretation of Christ's principles be properly determined, and not left to individual assertion. History shows that the fanatical sects of Christendom have always been formed on misapplications of words of Christ in senses which have seemed obvious to unlearned haste, but which the Church has seen not to observe true proportion. Church law must follow Christ's law; but belongs to a sphere not detailed by Christ's law, as S. Paul said of some of his rules, that they were his own judgment, made with trust in the Lord's guidance, while of others, 'Not I speak, but the Lord.' Christ's commands are Christian principles, and should make State laws as well as Church, and are not to be called Church laws.

On a different level, the authority of general Church law to override English Church law is presented on the principle that Provincial Synods have no power to alter Catholic Customs. But this belongs rather to the question of National Churches. For my present purpose, and without reference to any special examples, it is sufficient to-day to say that it rests with the Churches, and not with individual Churchmen, to determine what Customs or Canons have Œcumenical authority, and what is open for Provincial determination. The history of the obligations undertaken by English clergy shows that they preclude claims of individuals to disregard English Church or State laws out of preference for external rules. Universal customs are exemplified by S. Augustine *

* See 'Ad Casulanum,' Ep. XXXVI., Opp. T. II., p. 119. Paris, 1836.

(who seems relied on for this matter) to be great things like keeping Easter, going to church, observing the two Sacraments ; while minor points, such as rules of fasting, he would have observed according to the customs of each Church, or, as he says in another way, in such matters follow the Bishop, and do without scruple what he does.

My subject to-day will not include this further. I propose only to take a general survey of the relations of Church and State law in England, with the practical purpose of estimating what tendency in them it is reasonable for us to desire. The Chancellor is bound by professional principles, *ampliare jurisdictionem*, to expand his sphere : the sphere, I mean, of Church law, not of personal administration of it. But I do not expect him to claim more than a very fragmentary domain, scarcely extending beyond consecrated men and things, and the shrunken range of matrimonial law not yet removed by statute. The Bishop's Court, as also the Archdeacon's, has real jurisdiction with coercive powers, some by recent statute, but some by ancient customs of England, besides the shadowy region of Canon law. Modern Statute law has covered almost every part of their administration, and removed most of the old mixed territory of mixed property rights. Then, there are the Prayer Book, Articles, and the Canons of our own Church, lying, so to speak, half-way between ancient and modern history. What of this is Church law, and in what sense ?

Put it for a moment in this way : In what does the connection of the Church with the State differ from that of the Army, which, so modern as it is, has attained almost as great complexity of government ? The reality of the Crown's headship of the army has been practically asserted, even in the domain of property rights, in our time by the Royal Warrant for the abolition of purchase. In its internal regulation the army is a Service under the Crown, disposing its employments, varying its principles of tactics, enforcing discipline judicially, by its own system, though its maintenance and development rests in the public purse administered by Parliament. It is not clear that in proportion as Parliament absorbs its management, the wishes of the Nation will be better satis-

fied and the interests of the service be less subordinated to personal fancies or partisan exigencies. But so it is. Parliament outdoes lawyers in the tendency *ampliare jurisdictionem*, and though in every department it can only debate and must develop only through experts, nothing but very special consensus of public opinion outside or inside can maintain such a service in its limited independence of Parliament. It is, at any rate, a State service.

The Church differs from it in these respects: The Church has its own constitutional existence, system, and legislature, and the Church has its own property. It must live, as all national Institutions must live, on consensus of national opinion and feeling as we believe that it will. But in national feeling, Constitutional means something different from Statutable, and though Statutes alter Constitution every day, that feeling distinguishes the Church substantially from the army, still more from State departments for finance, education, police, and the rest. In constitutional theory the Church is not consulted merely in the position of departmental experts, selected or created by Parliament to formulate its business. The Reformation settlement was based on the recognition that the clergy were the existing adequate Spirituality for determining spiritual questions. If it is well that the Church should not become a State department, Convocation is consistent with its attitude under Edward I. in claiming constitutional power to improve itself, and in preferring to be unreformed to being reformed by Act of Parliament.

But such a question presents the practical position: Old ways can go on constitutionally till national opinion is set in distinct opposition, but they can only be changed by statute, and they can be changed by statute. Old Courts work on constitutionally, but coercion must ultimately rest on bailiff and gaoler. Meanwhile lawyers have captured Parliament, and the clergy have excluded themselves from Parliament. Possibly they were wise; possibly it would have made no difference. Possibly, if I obeyed my writ of Parliamentary summons to bring two clergy with me, they would refuse to come, as they did at first. But the result was that when clergy questions arose they were not there, and 'went to the wall,' and have

been going ever since. The motive and result of the Reformation was to absorb the clergy in the nation. Church laws were made to be State laws. The Church is not a State department, but in effect it is nearly as if it were, and possibly if it were one some fine morning, it might be made free in less archaic methods to develop according to the needs of its generations. It was a point with both sides that the Church should initiate its own changes at the Reformation. No Headship was to intervene in its spiritual affairs of teaching and worship. It was to prepare Prayer Book and Articles. I gladly concur that they passed as Church law. Sentiment and popular support limited Throne and Parliament.

All may agree that the Prayer Book, at any rate, is Church law. What older Church law, canon or common, exists? This depends a great deal on the view taken about the Canons of 1604. They were made to satisfy the desire for a Code, and cover the range of subjects proper to canons, and the subjects treated in the former Canon law. They seem intended to present the settlement accepted at that time on the points of Canon law which were thought worth codifying, and retaining. If that were the purpose, then points omitted in those Canons were not supposed to be, therefore, unaltered, nor to be waiting to be formulated, like some unsettled points reserved at the Council of Trent, but to be omitted as not intended to be retained. The *Reformatio Legum* had been a Code, avowedly framed on that idea, drawn on purpose to supersede the former Canon law. That was shelved in 1559; and after that no attempt to form a second substitute was ventured in Elizabeth's reign, although steps were several times taken towards it; but at once on her demise our present Canons were made, and give us no hint that they were to be taken with all that had not been statutably and expressly repealed of the old Canon law.

On this view the range of our Church law would be defined enough, and the only question would be, In what sense is it Church law? *i.e.*, what part in the process of making laws would be held to make them Church laws? If the Church drew up Canons, which still had to rest for being law on civil sanction, would such Canons be what is meant by Church

Law? If more is meant, is English Clergy sanction without that of the State postulated? If so, during what time can such separate action be shown? The recognised summary of English Canon law is the *Provinciale* of Lynwode. It contains no more than Constitutions of the Legates Otho in 1236 and Othobon 1268, and those of twenty-five Archbishops from Stephen Langton* to Chichele† under Edward III., collected by de Athona, annotated and edited by Lynwode, Dean of Arches, in Henry V.'s time. This collection was adopted by the Province of Canterbury, and afterwards, in 1462, by that of York. It was but seventy years later that the Commons made their onslaught on Church Courts and law, and the Canon law was only prolonged temporarily till it should be revised. The obligation even of what may have had independent Synodal sanction to Canons and Constitutions from Stephen Langton's time was from 1532 dependent on the Statute prolonging it. What that statute included has been matter of dispute. I read that a law case has been settled in modern times on a decree of the Fourth Lateran Council,‡ and I am told that on that case has been very recently based an argument of a leading Church lawyer that the foreign Canon law stands as obligatory. However, the fourth Lateran Council's regulations were received by Stephen Langton, and specially ordered by Archbishop Peccham§ to be recited as of obligation, at the same time that he claims in regard to Canons of Lyons Papal consideration for England, as a country markedly different from other countries. So this fact, that accepted Canons of the fourth Lateran have been held of legal force, is no proof of anything beyond the commonly-received doctrine that only such foreign Canon law has legal force in England as has been definitely accepted in England, and not been abrogated by a contrariant statute.

I find the latest lawyer writer on Canon law ridicules the idea that English Churchmen would ever pick and choose what parts of the general Church system they would accept, especially in such a matter as one of the Sacraments, as they reckoned marriage. But that depends upon dates. It presents the dilemma: either the general Church system changed

* A.D. 1207.

† A.D. 1414.

‡ A.D. 1215.

§ A.D. 1278.

in regard to the point under consideration: viz., remarriage after separation, or England had its own customs. The English Penitentials are more in accord on the point with S. Basil and other Fathers than with what is assumed to be the general Church system. It is sadly difficult in controverted Church subjects of this kind to trust given authorities. The first statement on divorce in Gregory's Decretals, from a Capitulary of the date of the early Penitentials, speaking of a woman having conspired to kill her husband, concludes that he may put her away, and 'after her death, if he likes, marry another.' But the same Capitulary, A.D. 753, given in the earlier Decretum itself, says nothing of 'after her death,' which the editor says was added by Raymond.* Do these dates indicate the period of change in idea? A third compiler, Ivo,† omits the whole clause about remarriage, so unreliable are these records since controversies began. However, I am at this moment not considering a particular law, but the general question what Church law there is, or has been, in England.

The second ambiguity in this question is, whether the Papal rescripts on English businesses during the period of Papal appeals are to be included as received in England, for the purpose of our present question. The older Saxon Councils or Synods, such as that of Hatfield,‡ which accepted the Canons of the five General Councils, have been counted National, and not simply Church Councils; but while Bishops and nobles sat in State Councils together, it is not a necessary consequence that Legatine Councils were not purely Clergy councils. The Canons made or accepted in them may be called Church law, though separate Church Courts for their administration did not exist.

The sum is, that beside modern legislation and the Reformation documents, Prayer Book, Articles, and Canons, there remain as Church law the Officers of the Church, with some of their original authority, jurisdiction, and powers; some ancient Canons, fragments of the administration of matrimonial law, and some minor rules perhaps not superseded by statutes. *E.g.*, Those who demur to desuetude of Canons

* Gregory's chaplain, A.D. 1234. † Bishop of Chartres, 12th century.

‡ A.D. 680.

may hunt out such rules as these: Let every church adopt the style of music used in the cathedral. Let every priest before celebrating ask if any non-parishioner be present out of contempt of his own church, and repel him. Let no clergyman present himself to a living, however fit he be. Man does not put asunder those whom punishment condemns. Let no priest presume to celebrate Mass before he has performed Matins, Prime, and Tierce. If any rector spoil the trees or grass in churchyards, let him be canonically punished. Let a Bishop have one or two prisons for criminous clergy, where they may be imprisoned for life for capital crimes. It is not to be supposed, as the lawyer whom I have quoted would say, that Churchmen will pick or choose what laws they like, and reject the rest. Such purely Church matters may claim Church validity, if any can. Most are English rules.

Whatever may be the case about this debatable fringe of possibly existing Church law, when voices are heard speaking as if the great medieval issue were rising like a Phoenix from its ashes, it needs only a short retrospect to be sure that Hooker* and Jeremy Taylor were right in their judgment of that medieval issue's settlement, when they said more solemnly what experience has said in homely proverbs, that dual systems of government cannot exist without one becoming ultimately supreme, and that for England the Reformation had finally absorbed the clergy into the people, the Church into the State. I do not say that a new cycle may not begin again. Despair may revivify old dreams, and fancy an Utopia raised out of a naughty world, if only it would let the Church make its laws and keep it good. The Papacy did not rise only on false decretals. When all Europe was much what Turkey and Armenia are now, it was not an irrational dream that Christianity might make a Peace of God if the Church were set above Emperors and Kings. But Popes and Priests proved pettier in human weaknesses than Kings and Emperors, and men awoke from the dream. Ecclesiastics have shown no promise yet that they would not still deal with men as children and by rules on medieval lines out-grown three centuries ago.

* Compare Hooker, 'Eccl. Pol.,' VIII., vi. 8, and Bishop Jeremy Taylor, 'Ductor Dubitantium,' III. iii., especially Section 7.

The twentieth-century Church may capture labourers and law-makers, but the medieval Church has been tried and found wanting. Church law has had its day, and a very good day. I trust the Church will always do its part, and a good part, in law-making, only not the same part.

A Bishop in Central Africa begins over again the first stages of Church law, consensual government of his converts, with jurisdiction and discipline of the New Testament and the sub-apostolic ages, as is required for a voluntary body that must work on fixed order. He may be persecuted to the death by the State, or in time be recognised, make converts, and become chief State adviser, and his colleagues with him, and make laws of Christianity and civilization be accepted, and be among the chiefs, either by status in council or by personal influence. He would have Church law in his mind, and English law in his mind, but he would not quote canons or statutes to a King Mtesa, nor forget Gregory's first rule to Augustine* for England, 'to take there customs from everywhere, only what would suit the people.' Meanwhile he would map out the country for his Church operations, over many, maybe, hostile tribes, all thereby some day to be made one nation. Church law will have had its place before Resident, or Governor, or Commissioner appear on the scene; and Church law will have had no limit to its sphere of influence, though no coercion, except of its own officials by rule and of converts by excommunication. On property and war and rights the Christian chiefs *nollent leges Africae mutare*, but on polygamy and moral laws would admit, if not obey, Church discipline. The clergy would be apart, subject to all Church law, as if at home. In that early age Church law is better than State law, and for the people is one with it. The people would shrink from trying the clergy, as reasonably as Constantine refused in his first age of State Christianity. The world is generally reasonable, State and Church alike; but very human, Church and State alike.

So it was reasonable in the transition stage of growth that the domain of Church law should have comprised, beside ecclesiastical affairs pure and simple, jurisdiction over matri-

* See Bedae, 'Hist. Eccl.,' i. 27.

monial and testamentary cases, and such spiritual cases as were reckoned sin, not crime. Owing to the more advanced stage in government reached in England when Church and State came to definite issue and demarcation between the Courts, and specially to the strong legislative wills of William and the two Henrys, much less domain was given to Church law in England than abroad, particularly in regard to Church property, titles, lands, and tithes, and especially advowsons, which were admitted by everyone, the Church as well as State, to be property, and saleable temporal property. It was certainly reasonable for the finer questions to be Church law, until the age of lawyers came just at the time for contesting its domain, and then encroaching more and more upon it, with equally good reason.

Then, you have only to read the '*Corpus Juris Canonici*' to see how much reason there was for Papal appeals from England, which appear on almost every page, and show that they were wanted. I have been interested myself by these questions to read through what I never read before, and probably few of you have read through either, Gratian's Decretum and Gregory's Decretals, as well as the English Canon law in the Provinciale. The first impression is that the Corpus is a jumble not only of discordant judgments, but of great and small, and of Canons of Councils levelled with Pope's rescripts and judgments about cases, with rarely the cases stated. In the form of history, collecting each Pope's judgments together, and marking progress, it would have interested me more; but as a law book it is a very usable one, when once its index is mastered. The Decretum, published in A.D. 1151, covers all the earlier Canons and Decrees issued (and a great deal never issued) from the time of the first Councils, and Gregory IX.'s Decretals continued till A.D. 1255. They give a high impression of the Popes; and by the side of general sense, principle, and clearness on the ordinary clerical subjects of appeal, they are characterized by somewhat lax considerateness for great persons, extreme severity in any disobedience to Popes, and great shrewdness in obliging both parties in a suit somehow. It is certainly interesting history, and in nothing more so than in the fact of

such a law book of rules and cases, extending over 700 years, existing 700 years ago. But even Innocent III. never made the Decretum law in England. The earlier Kings would have neither Civil nor Canon law.

Church law, apart from State law, could only begin under Henry III., when Canons began under Stephen Langton; and then Parliaments were beginning too, destined to be more fatal to it than Kings or lawyers. And reasonable as Church law was in its departments and in its appeals, in the state of religious ideas and clerical capacity, as well as of kingly and baronial rule and morality at that time, yet again, when the time came for its subjection, that was reasonable too. I do not say that the processes in any of the stages of its growth or decadence were reasonable—that is not now my question—but at the bottom of the changes, however effected, there was good reason. The clergy intruded into every private concern of life as the domain of sin, and penance, and confession, and indulgence; and a system of extortion, chiefly Papal, but alleged bitterly against the clergy, with abuses of place and patronage, without redress to laymen, and the evils of the ‘benefit of clergy’ and their separateness, had possessed the country with hostile feeling before Henry VIII. resolved on his policy of absorbing the clergy in the nation. But Papal appeals were the centre of the system, and Papal appeals could not survive the fatal unfitness for national arbitration shown by the Popes in Henry VIII.’s suit about his marriage with Catharine of Arragon. Churchmen had fully matched Laymen in administering law; Bishops had been among the greatest Justiciars and Chancellors. It may be at least reasonable to question whether they did not make better law than lawyers in the departments divided with temporal Courts—*e.g.*, whether the law of personalty is not better than that of realty, and whether it is not true that if an elder son were legitimized by marriage he ought to inherit. But when the feudal and military ideas ceased to dominate, and learning became lay as well as clerical, and Common and Statute law was growing, and Parliament was growing, and the Throne was growing, and the Nation was growing, and religious controversy was growing, and modern history began, the time

was come to make the law national. It could not fail to be specialized professionally.

Let me now return for a moment to the point. In what state did Henry VIII. place or leave Church law? The two points are: (1) What existing Church law was recognised? (2) What future power of Church legislation? I have said what I can about the former, and the special ambiguities attached to it, and I will not detain you longer over it. But many questions have been raised about subsequent Church law in regard to the limitations attached to the Legislative body. The changes made in the position of Convocation were: Firstly, That whereas since Henry III. and Stephen Langton, the Constitutions of the Provincial Synod had force simply on the Archbishop's sanction to the Synod's resolutions, Canons now, to be of effect in law, must be laid before the Crown, and approved and confirmed by Letters Patent under the Great Seal. This is no more than William I. insisted upon, nor more than is true of Acts of Parliament. Secondly, Whereas before Archbishops could summon synods, not only at the King's direction, but also at their own discretion, since 1534 Convocation must always be assembled by authority of the King's writ, directing the Archbishop to summon it. But this, again, is true of Parliament, nor does the Statute distinguish the duty of the Crown to summon Convocation from its duty to call Parliament. Thirdly, No Canon, Constitution, or Ordinance shall be made or put in execution by the authority of the Convocation of the clergy which shall be contrariant or repugnant to any of the Customs of the Realm. None of these provisions were contrariant to the ancient English or Norman customs, but, still, the temporary Church independence ceased.

The position of Convocation was peremptorily asserted by Elizabeth, who forbade the Commons to entertain Bills about religious matters without Convocation. Still more observably was it asserted by Parliament itself in 1689, when both Houses petitioned that William III. should issue writs to call a Convocation of the clergy, on the occasion of the Comprehension Liturgy being proposed. Suspended as Convocation

was for a long interval, it was not by the Crown, but by the Church that that was done.

Restored and meeting regularly since 1852, Convocation legislates. On rare occasions, when Canons existing in force have to be superseded by new Canons, a most cumbrous, tedious, archaic procedure is minutely observed, as in the changes of clergy oaths and hours of marriage. Otherwise, synodical action is continuous in regular simplicity. The new Lectionary, shortened and separate services, the Revised Version of the Bible, condemnation of heretical books, and declaration against the Œcumenical character of the Vatican Council, are among its later actions, and exemplify what require civil sanction for practical effect and what do not. The mass of its business is in preparing such Bills about mixed Church affairs as require legal change, and determining clergy questions of moral and spiritual character. As one somewhat prejudiced against its revival at the time in my academic atmosphere, I am glad to express my belief that, tiresome as its methods often are, its revival has been a strength to the Church, and its value is increasing with its reserve. Grave clergy questions have arisen, both on changes being made in Church law without previous consultation, and on the administration of lay Courts. Parliament and lawyers have, after their manner, been ready *ampliare jurisdictionem*, and whether we consider dicta about the constitutional position of Convocation, or the judgments about theological questions, it is not without grounds that clergy have at times questioned their exactness.

But in England infallibility resides in the judges, whose decisions admit of no revision when once a case is finally settled, and whose occasional mistakes may make law no less than their general wisdom. Coke's well-known dictum contains truth, no doubt: 'For judges expounding of statutes that concern the ecclesiastical government or proceedings, it belongeth unto the temporal judges, and we think they have been expounded as much to the clergy's advantage as either the intention or letter of laws would or could allow of; and when they have been expounded to their liking, then they would approve of it, but if the exposition be not for their pur-

pose, then they will say, as now they do, that it appertaineth not unto us to determine of them.' It has not always been the nature of the Courts that clergy have resisted, but they have stood for their own opinion against Bishops as much as lay Courts. Good men in prison can even alter laws by public sympathy, and good work is calculated on to be enough to justify illegality by sympathy. All this has to be reckoned with. But great lawyers may have been over-hasty at times in despising clergy knowledge and judgment about their own subjects, enough to make both history and theology require to be represented by the side of law in administering Church questions. Still, our question has hitherto been, What is Church law? not what it ought to be; and against the court and judges it would need very special sympathy, conviction, or policy to alter it by resistance, or, when worth while, to let it be disregarded.

The unquestioned sphere of Church law is the ordering of clergy work, life, and teaching, Church management, and services. It is well to have the Prayer Book accepted as the final and unquestionable authority for these. Church law from the earliest times throughout has set as the resort for all uncertainty the living law, the Bishop. A Bishop has no inherent rights or powers any more than any other man. 'Inherent rights,' in the sense of rights not conferred, is a self-contradictory phrase. A Bishop's office is what the primitive Church shaped into tradition, defined, modified, and limited by special provisions in each Church. Those limits are different in England, America, the Colonies, and Missions in our own communion; their courts, canons, patronage, synods, differ in their rules. But the central idea of the traditional office is still that of 'the living law,' the Ordinary of unsettled questions. My Court may be administered by my Chancellor, as the Queen's Courts by her judges. If I issued new rescripts, they would have to be confirmed by the clergy. So those of the Bishops of the Province are by the Provincial Synod. We are constitutional Bishops, and, happily, every year more and more division of responsibility is devised for us—not, perhaps, always at the wisest points for efficiency—

but for the Bishop all points are wise, and in the multitude of counsellors he has safety.

But I am bound to say that I cannot think our Church government suited for departments of law beyond that of administering the ecclesiastical economy, and for that it needs to return to its constitutional theory. For regulation of clergy I believe that general feeling (and I have found that of judges) favours clergy governing clergy, as lawyers lawyers, doctors doctors, soldiers soldiers. But in mixed matters, of social importance more to laity than clergy, I think civil better than clerical rule; and that it would be best for the clergy, and particularly the Bishops, to cease to have any part in legal questions about marriage or burial, as they have ceased to have in testamentary law. Quite apart from the perverse consequence that politics thwart the best arrangements, as we see in burials, I think clergy option out of place in such lay social questions. Marriage and burial regulations ought to be settled by law, and not subject to any option, but certainly not to clergy option.

The Church should influence such legislation, but not make it. Church law, you say, aims at higher morality. Well, by whatever sanction any law exists to promote higher morality, all the Church, not clergy only, ought to assist it. The higher Puritanism, which responds in the English conscience to public appeal, will respect such Church action for its Christian spirit, and respect the Church for such use of its influence for public morality—only not as a Church rule. At this moment the protest against blessing in Church the marriage of a person divorced for adultery appeals to the general conscience as urging what is for social morality. It can only be made effective by a State law, and on the ground of its wisdom being accepted. It is, therefore, a good example, that for social legislation the office of the Church is to influence public opinion to make good State laws, not to claim to make laws herself. The Church is to be a religious conscience, bringing Christian principles into all social discussions, and clarifying sentiment up to higher legislation. Church organization ought to be a potent instrument for Christian legislation on temperance, marriage, and cognate problems; for fair regulation of

industrial relations, for the morality of business, as well as for the intellectual problems of literature, education, and other influences on public thought. To believe that the world is not made good by Act of Parliament is, for the clergy, to believe that influencing opinion is better than making laws, and to be ready to leave the adjustment of what is desirable to what is practicable in the hands of others more nearly acquainted with public feeling and more content to accept its limitations. Clergy influence will do more than clergy authority.

I am not prepared to discuss publicly in detail the problems connected with Matrimonial laws, but whether I look at the graduations of the Penitentials, or the consistent inconsistency of the Canon law, with its irrational distinctions, its mistaken aims, its laxity of evidence, and yet its unrelenting technicality, and beneath all its purely ecclesiastical conception, I feel that there is no branch of Church law which has been such a discredit to the Church as a legislator. For this, as well as for my former reasons, I would gladly see matrimonial affairs in other hands. Do not mistake me. I have not been referring specially to divorce or remarriage. That is a very small part of the subject. Upon that limited subject I agree myself with the judgment of the late Lambeth Conference. Laxity of divorce is a disastrous social evil. I hail any sentiment that opposes that, even if I think its argument dangerous. I rejoice if the Prayer Book is irrefragable as it is understood. But for all that, there are divers good reasons why I am not glad that Church law is invoked as the ground of opposition. Needless to say, I value loyalty to our Church and its law. Belief in its law's goodness adds strength to the Church itself. But I am anxious when I hear it contrasted with expediency. 'Expedient,' like 'decent' and 'convenient,' has been narrowed and lowered in popular usage from its true meaning. 'Advantageous,' 'becoming,' 'suitable,' are words that carry respect, where 'decent' and 'convenient' sound only the opposites of indecent and inconvenient, and 'expediency' suggests interested cunning. But, in its true sense, expediency is the real spirit for laws, which ought to aim at what is most advantageous to their society. The Church must maintain high principle against making sin easy, or compromising

with it. But results, not rules, must be her care. Contrast of law with expediency has a ring of ecclesiastical rigorism, caring more for completeness of system than the best possible results, as if regulation were a higher spirit than liberty, and law were its own good.

But more mouth-filling than expediency as a contrast to Church law is Erastianism. I have been asked if I am an Erastian, but I ask in vain, What is that? Hook's 'Dictionary' says 'Erastus was a heretic of the sixteenth century—with no particular heresy.' He was, I believe, Chancellor to a Prince Palatine, and his typical heretic thesis was that Excommunication required the civil sword. Well, like most great theological controversies, that depends on what you mean. What is or was meant by excommunication? Is it simply refusing the Holy Communion? or does it attach some degree of outlawry, legal or practical, from boycotting in market to burning there? For ourselves, now, we cannot refuse peremptorily the Holy Communion, except under strict legal conditions cognizable in courts of law. On the other hand, from Constantine downwards, the civil sword has always been behind the Church. In the good Norman days, before Chancellors arose, our Bishops had dungeons, and their fetter stanchions remain in the floor of at least one old Southern castle that I know. But that was for recusant clergy, or if for others, as by magnates with civil *sac* and *soc*. I doubt if Chancellors could burn. The secular arm had to execute. But the word I have used, 'boycotting,' tells of outlawry, not by law, but by sentiment, and such excommunication depends on the existence and strength of a sentiment carried out by agreement through a community with no civil sword—as must have been in primitive days.

This is the practical kernel of the question. Will people attend to Church excommunication for outlawry for sin without its being legally enforced, as they do under codes of honour or rules of trade unions? In societies by voluntary contract, such as Nonconformists, it is part of the contract, and as such rests on the civil power. If Churchmen desire similar legal power of exclusion, it can only be by civil enactment. But the world of fashion, or the world of business

(whichever needs it most), or the world of labour, or of clergy, can any day begin a disciplinary system by sentiment and agreement; and I don't suppose the civil magistrates would interfere with such voluntary organization if it did not proceed to violence. If an angel of wisdom and holiness came down to be their spiritual director (and that were what they would like) such discipline would carry conviction, and not suggest any oppression, except such as Bunyan described and the early Christians experienced. But if the world desired the angel, it would not need him so much, and without the angel I am not so sure. Excommunication might again soon become an unspiritual ground of libel. Looking, then, at facts, we see that both spiritual excommunication may be barred by civil rule if people will, and also that civil excommunication may not require civil enforcement if people will, though civil rule cannot excommunicate spiritually, nor Church rule civilly. How far excommunication is possible for us without civil enactment and execution, I leave to you.

The truth misrepresented in the idea that Church conscience is entitled, if not bound, to resist a State law which contradicts Church law on social matters, is that religious sentiment should elevate law. That it has always done so, that it has always tended to justice, mercy, and truth, is not historically true. But it ought to do so, and in some ways does. Then, on the merits of the case, conscience may well scruple to bear part or lot in the lower code accepted by the State as all that it can enforce. But the ancient casuistry of Fathers like S. Basil, and the early Canons, and, indeed, the modern casuistry of Churches exercising discipline, could see, as Secular states see, that the limits to rigour must be that it should not make men do worse. Fight and die for a higher law, if your martyrdom will establish it, but as a higher law of expediency, not as a rule.

I must not repeat myself too much, and I will only add, therefore, a word on my last point, that for the proper domain of Church law, the management of religion, it will, in the interest of all alike, be wise to enlarge to the fullest extent Church government in spiritual things by Church officers. The Bill * now drawn to give power to revise the Rubrics of

* See pp. 142-146.

the Prayer Book to Convocation, subject to the Queen in Council, gives the fittest opportunity to the substantive part of the Church, the laity, to have its say upon what concerns them so much. That is but a small portion of the domain over which I should like to see the same principle properly extended, but it may form a good point of departure. All property questions could be still matters of temporal law, and, for my part, I would wish criminal questions to be more, and not less, under lay judges. But for purely spiritual things there is no more reason now than in Henry VIII.'s time against, and much more reason for, the position asserted by Henry VIII.'s statutes, 'that the clergy are the adequate spirituality for spiritual things.'

My brethren, about the spirit of Church law, at any rate, I know that we all agree. The law of the Lord is an undefiled law, converting the soul; the judgments of the Lord are true and righteous altogether. In the strength of the Lord is the strength of law in the hearts of men, and the Church of God will rest upon that strength prevailing in men's consciences. May the Lord bless the Church to be His faithful witness for justice and mercy and truth!

PART III.—CHURCH PRINCIPLES

DELIVERED IN THE CHURCH OF S. SWITHUN, RETFORD, MAY 7, 1896.

'THE CHURCH MUST STAND UPON HER PRINCIPLES.'

BATTLE cries are of inestimable value to a cause. They stir spirit. They rally to a standard. They shape ideas. As cries they may multiply in any diversity, to address divers followings. They will, of course, combine into one main common line of principle. Then, at the rousing time the more and more stirring, nay, the more genuine and more individual, the better. When they become signals for action, their value alters. Inestimable will mean infinite or inappreciable, according as the signal has authority, unity, and wisdom. Different cries gather their own clans, but different signals disperse them. They must at least know what a signal means before they can hoist it or obey it. The more stirring, the

more need to be sure that the cry is not *vox et praeterea nihil*—of little meaning though the words be strong.

‘The Church must now stand on her principles’ is the high-sounding cry of one of her most rising leaders.* It is not meant, I gather, to suggest that she has not been standing on them hitherto, but supposing that politics may remove her more material supports and leave only those spiritual ones, it says that those are enough. What does the cry mean? Not, I am sure, the Liberationist claptrap that the Church defends her pockets, not her principles. Nor do I suppose it to mean that her principles have been too mixed, and she must in future stand only on some selection of them. Does it mean that the Canon ‘has had a letter,’ as dear Bishop Moberly used to ask upon any assured statement about unsettled problems of the Unseen? Has any superior revelation enabled him to label authoritatively the right set as her principles? or can he unify the honest differences of the equally qualified Church parties? or does he doubt that Church comprehensiveness in her principles belongs to the higher, not the lower, intentions of Church authorities and laws, as an idea proper, indeed, to the Church Catholic, but essential to the Church National? or is it only a cry to rouse faith and spirit to believe in the old principles of the Church as true enough to carry conviction unaided against foes secular and sectarian, if only her champions fly her flag high enough? Bravo, bravissimo! Only then—there they have been all along. For the cry is not from one who would hymn ‘Faith of our Fathers’ in the ambiguous sense in which Scotchmen toasted their rightful King, but from one whose last declaration would purge out Jesuits and traitors, and restore discipline on regulation lines summarily. What, then, does the cry come to? Is it that the Church must rest on conviction, presumed in her members, required to be spread to all—conviction, maybe, of the truth of her teaching, conviction of the utility of her system, conviction of her historical claims, conviction of her religious sentiment, conviction amounting in some to a conviction of her necessity, in another of her use, in another of her comparative harmlessness, but conviction, at any rate,

* Canon Gore.

that in some way she makes good her claim to be the representative of national religion? Is it, in short, that the Church must convert the State by her principles? or has it the very different meaning, 'Sink or swim, nail your colours to the mast, and—here are your colours'? If so, what are the colours? The chief question remains.

The cry is raised by a gallant champion, ready even for hazardous ventures in tentative positions. But if (as we hold with him) our cause is good, and we are sure of our flag, the flag will fly better and no less true on the ancient fort entrusted to us to hold for it. Champions, whose chivalry burns to go down from every point of vantage, may forget that the cause is not theirs; that ages have not raised works to be abandoned to please others who haven't; that strong positions make time for tumultuous attacks to disperse, while the occupants can continue their proper business undisturbed within; and that they may stake too much on themselves. But if such champions insist on going down to the fray, not on equal (as it is put to them), but on unequal terms, being (as they are) neither of the temper for aggressive attack, nor ready to use all kinds of weapons without scruple, are they ready? A flag without a fort means an enthusiastic host 'ready, aye ready,' how soon and how often so ever it is called to action. My experience, as a sort of brigadier of this district, is that Churchmen do not care to fight for what they hear called privileges, nor even to claim equal rights to have what they value; that the laity are shy of being forward about religion as they would be about politics, and look to the clergy (not without reason in several aspects) to organize and direct any movement about Church life.

We hope their religion is a working one, influencing their lives, which is its truer office than fighting, or speculating, or inventing new systems instead of using the old. Clergy doing more spiritual service, laymen living more Christian lives as Churchmen, are of course the best witness for the body to its own conscience, to its opposing critics, and to the people who need shepherding, and who must judge by what they understand and value. It is the most irksome thing possible to set in motion any fighting organization for the Church. Church

Defence has in its title the great merit that it is not Church Attack, as it would come to be if the Church were set to push its way as sect among sects.

It is in accord with this, and in real accord with those who say the Church must stand on her principles, that the action prescribed for Churchmen by the Archbishops* is to make her own members know her principles and be united to possess and maintain them. It will be more closely in accord with them, if the method advised for carrying out that action be brought more closely into the old constitutional lines of Church principles. I hope that the parishes will enrol all their members in joint covenant to be ready, and I hope that the parish vestries will supply a living Council to organize, advise, and act. Quiescence is the Church's normal condition, and in quietness and confidence is strength. But quiescence due to unpreparedness and ignorance what to do is more disheartening than acquiescence due to indifference. It is not the strength of the Flying Squadron, but its readiness, which made it tell. Now, I don't question lay Churchmen's readiness for their traditional service of holding their fortress, and being in time, as they have been, to maintain an Institution, but are they ready for open campaign ?

Which, then, of the Church's principles is she called to stand upon ? Is it the doctrinal principles, by some fresh conviction of which she is to persuade the Dissenter that Church teaching is Bible truth and the Secularist that Bible truth is God's truth ? or is it the ecclesiastical principles of her organized ministry of Bishops, priests, and deacons, and the Church position of her laity, by new display of which she is to convince our democratic times that her system has undoubted essential authority that it might never be changed, but can claim undivided allegiance ? or is it the political principle of a National Church with a territorial pastorate and general provision for religion, and a backbone for unity ? For the first of these sets of principles, what can we do more but argue as we have argued—except it be to argue more and better ? and is not the third principle just what we are called

* *I.e.*, to form Diocesan Branches of 'The Church Committee' (see p. 106).

to give up? or is it? If it is, I join issue with all my might, the old issue, the very old issue, the issue of all English Church history. The issue is, we well know, with two sets of disputants from opposite points: one, those who attach all such questions to history, to authority, to constitution, or other such obligations of theory or principle; the other, those who know nothing of history or authority, and care less, and ask one question, What is its use? And in answering this again, some will regard the use of the parochial system to be to teach certain truths and certain worship, while others will think it a means of improving life, if by those truths and worship, by them, but if not by them only or chiefly, then by other helps and ministrations more particularly. Some may care only for it to teach episcopalian systems or sacerdotal doctrines, but that does not prevent others who have no sympathy with such teaching from valuing it as a potent elevating instrument.

The National Church as a territorial or a local system of providing every part of the country with religion is widely regarded, even by people who do not feel themselves a part of a living organism in it, to be an Institution of great public effect and advantage, and at least one which ought to be so, and might be made so, and should be maintained that it may be made so. I have myself often said that there are aspects in which a National Church is an advantage to Dissenters more particularly. Whatever be their doctrinal or spiritual differences, technically they are politically members of the National Church who have made themselves proprietary chapels which (to put the straitest ecclesiastical aspect of them) they get served by laymen, with a lay elasticity of services. Their chapels meet personal wishes, but entail no duties towards outsiders. If a district becomes poor they move away from it, and follow their proprietary classes. Such a system almost requires, for the satisfaction of brotherly conscience, that provision be made for the poor by others, who will thereby leave them free to look after themselves. At any rate, a National Church does this for them, in ways they do not feel themselves called to provide. I do not think that in villages where the pastorate has been administered in the

spirit of personal piety, devoted ministry, and comprehensive charity, the separatist parishioners have desired the destruction of the parochial system of the country. On the contrary, non-political Dissenters have joined in general protest and petitions against it.

This is in my eyes a main point in the political question, as we must all recognise the question of an Established Church to be. It cannot be dissembled that town centres of different religious bodies feel called to push their connection where they have no members, to create factitious opposition as often to good as to bad Church work, and that sometimes without scruples about words and methods, and that the head centres of political organizations stimulate such action where it would not be locally raised, from the natural desire for success. It is seen that chapels can be built on business principles more readily than churches on free gifts, and are kept up by annual visits from town centres in villages where there is no regular service or congregation. It is stated that pressure, or call it encouragement to adhesion, is as distinctly exercised now, in these days of religious liberty, by employers and leaders of Dissent, as it ever was by Churchmen in days when uniformity was the sentiment of the country. But if we have learnt, as I believe we have, our lessons about these ideas of the days of uniformity, that untrue methods work out their own condemnation, then we shall expect certainly reaction against those methods when employed by others. I do not doubt this having been evidenced this year in national ways. In more local ways parishes have been tested among ourselves, and when attacks have been factitious and unjust, and the Church ministrations true and effective, they have collapsed. I wish I could say there were no instances where the reverse had been the case. Happily, the instances where wrong-headed clergy have been newly appointed are markedly exceptional.

It is our chief concern that the Parish Pastorate be true. That is the real Church work. In that lies the value and claim of the Church. Its main Church principle is not the maintenance of this or that set of tenets on controverted subjects, but that the Church is organized and established to

be the instrument for maintaining and elevating Christian life and spirit through the whole country. It is a great and assuring pleasure in many parishes to see the pastor known to all, and met with friendly respect by young and old of all conditions: respect and friendship, the two recognitions of the two things needful, character and sympathy. Character alone does much, sympathy alone does much; but both are needful, and S. Paul's paradox holds—the greatest is charity. An aged Bishop* recently encouraged a newly selected one to accept the office, as one in which he would find many opportunities for doing kindnesses. A country parson must, I suppose, find his happiness in like opportunities. People whose object is to upset quietness sneer sometimes at squire's and parson's kindness. They may have been as human as other people who give assistance, and been in past times more patronizing than suits charity; but patronizing is not their special foible now, and my long knowledge of clergy life assures me that it was always the exception, and that kindness was in most parsonages real kindness, and had real response. 'Not to be ministered unto, but to minister,' was their happiness. *Exceptio probat regulam*. If there are still exceptions, who think of self and assert self, who stand on dignity, and claim submission, like the great Popes, there is some flaw in them which marks them unlike their brethren, and they stand out as objects of amusement and surprise. They get sometimes as good as they give, as the proverb says, and most learn better. Still, the exceptions—where what in families is called 'incompatibility of temper' appears as incapacity to meet the people's feelings, or to sympathize enough, to bear and to forbear, and so to win by Christian common-sense—cause sores worse than greater faults.

No question is more difficult to settle, for the greatest happiness of all alike, than the question what degree of government the people should have in their Church ways, and what degree of conviction that a particular method is best ought, nevertheless, to give way to general feeling, even though less enlightened. The question may seem simpler than it is, when we consider how often objections to change

* Bishop Philpott to Bishop Creighton, 1891.

are simply objections to change, how often they are only individual preferences imposed on others, how often changes are preferred when made, and so on, apart from the real issue behind, which is, Who shall have the ultimate settlement, clergy or people? It is not strange that this old issue should be raised locally by the people for whom the Church exists; but, knowing that few have time or knowledge for the management, that questions would make party divisions likely to result in separations, and that a reasonable constitutional autocracy can arrange with least friction, Church laymen have been content with reasonable consideration, when clergy have been ready to consult them.

But if the most devoted of the rising generation of laymen, anxious to maintain the Church, are set on legal limitation of immovable parish autocracy, this is due to what I hear called the exceptional cases. I take a standard of duty not disproportioned to that required in other callings, and these exceptional cases would include, I must admit, five per cent. in this Diocese, who would not be retained in employments in other lines. I do not refer to cases of age or health, but to men who hinder religion in their parishes by causing division or contempt, some by unworthiness, some by the simple fault of unfitness for the delicate post of parish ruler, though they might do good service under direction. I cannot demur. I believe good clergy would be all the stronger, and I cannot think unfit ones ought to be immovable more than men in other callings.

The first Church principle on which the Church can stand, and ought to wish to stand, is that her ministers be worthy ministers, and that her ministry be felt to be of real value to the people. Our people cannot be said to be exacting. They are very patient over failures. But I cannot say there are no murmurs. The people will not readily take any action even against unworthy ministers. But they think, for all that. The villages stand as the sphere where the need and value of Church provision is most undeniable. And it would indeed be an unhappier thing than it is to be a Bishop if many villages did not justify this. The great difficulty of speaking in public on the subject is that it is practically impossible to

enumerate the good pastors and distinguish them from the remainder. But there is a remainder who cannot expect much enthusiasm to be roused for efforts to maintain them or the Church which they represent. The two required Sunday services, and nothing else said or done in the week, will not rouse enthusiasm, but that is not so rare a village impression of the parson's work. No doubt some parishes are very small for constant visiting; but to say, 'They are too small,' is almost to say, 'Why need they exist?' To say, 'I can find nothing to do,' is almost to say, 'Am I in my right place?' Men must not visit on washing days or washing hours, or at meals uninvited—of course not; they must not be too frequent or familiar in particular cottages—of course not; they must not expect people to join in prayer at all times—of course not; they must be masters of themselves—of course. But villages are not mines or factories, or places closed to access all day. When I was young I found boys bird-scaring who wouldn't be out of school in these days, I suppose, till they had the Labour Certificate, which seems to furnish itself a good business for clergy care. But then they would be about. I suppose schools do now supply a good deal more, but they still give the clergy great opportunities.

I regard the real use of Church schools to be their opportunities for the clergy making parental acquaintance with the children, and through and about them with their homes. Kindness and help to children is a clergy care which wins more good feeling than anything. But the age after school is the time most needing care. A private tutor will spend all his time on half a dozen private pupils. 'Yes!' you say, 'he lives by it, and their parents expect his time.' Well, need I apply the remark? A village with six boys in it has plenty of work in it for one man. 'Oh, if you knew what goes on in our village!' Well, my friends, if you know it, that's more to the purpose. Why does it go on? What have you been doing with the boys? However, there are the aged and the sick. Your numbers are small enough to let you be constant company and comfort for all of them. You cannot, many of you, say, 'Yes, when they send for me, but I don't find they often care for visits.' That is exceptional enough to mean

something exceptional. It may be the lingering idea of a past generation. Does it ever mean that sermons or services, or talk, or goings on with people, have given an unspiritual impression, as of a person whom you would not care to have when you were in trouble or danger? It may be only youth, it may be selfish or shy seclusion, it may be unbelief, it may be sin. It is not Pastoral. But if you don't like children, and cannot manage boys, and don't know about sickness, and think power wasted on the aged, and are not the person to visit cottage mothers and daughters, if schools and recreations and clubs and lectures are not in your way, there remain the men, their causes and interests, their social and political ideas, their home and parish questions, their lives and souls, which nothing short of vulgar imbecility can undervalue as not enough for any man. There remains, what is at least expected, your pulpit's honoured opportunity of speaking words of spirit and of life to hearers whose weekday round is too often dull, weary, and unspiritual, and whom it is your privilege to cheer, brighten, and edify. Whatever part of your office you do well will have its credit: 'He is very good in the pulpit,' 'He is real kind,' 'He always does one good,' and so on. They may imply that he is not much of a pastor, that he is a poor preacher, that he does not know men well; but a man will get credit for all his good, and must be very blank indeed for a village to say he is not good for anything.

I am not unaware of the other side, and how much there is in it—you can supply that. But if the village clergy all believe that they are satisfying their office and their people, I must say plainly that they are living in a fool's paradise. The villages whose clergy have inspired the people with enthusiasm for the Church as a heritage and possession of theirs, which they could not do without, are not in sole possession. Our most loyal Church laymen, most considerate for the clergy, their difficulties and virtues, if they are reduced to give an account of parish lukewarmness about Church maintenance, end, when their real mind is extracted, by saying reluctantly: 'Well, if you look round, can you wonder?' There are one or two special points which I cannot understand either our clergy claiming, or the laity deferring to their

claim, to keep to themselves, so that they resent or even prevent the laity from undertaking them.

The most general example is lay visiting in the parish, which is surely the Christian right of every Christian family. Special forms I may exemplify in claims to disallow the employment in a parish of a nurse under lay management, which seems the most natural lay co-operation in Christian help imaginable. Lectures, clubs, etc., are other forms. There are parishes where the clergy have no helpers, and where their sole charge has to cover all such offices. But where there are helpers ready, to be jealous and hinder such help is suicidal, and that in several ways. Such Christian workers' souls have as much claim to consideration as anyone else, and to bar their opportunities and to damp their wish for charitable work is to kill good Christian spirit which ought to be life to them, the parish, and the parson himself. It must often change them, too, from cordiality, and turn help into hindrance, friendliness into coldness. It will only stop just those who consider the parson's feelings only too deferentially—*i.e.*, those who would be his best allies—whereas less friendly residents, and, still more, Nonconformist opponents, will only be left more free to take adverse lines with less check and better reason. When I say I cannot understand, that is perhaps hardly the phrase; for on the one hand jealousy can be more misguided than the mere dog in the manger, and, on the other, behind goodwill for duty lies not far off a sense of relief at excuse for exertion. I mean, such prohibitions have no right and ought not to be admitted.

The question is not so much which is the easiest, or even which is the completest or most reliable, system of parish management, but which is the best spring for parish life, which has the assurance of effective satisfaction, and which represents the truest Church principles. These are weaknesses which we know not to be limited to careless clergy, but to be the snares of devoted ones, and to be justified sometimes by the expediency of ease and unity of work, but also as Church principle which conscience will not allow to be surrendered. The management of schools is one example, and yet I believe that an enlargement of their management

would in any natural condition of things exemplify what I said just now, that, given openness and readiness to consult and admit equitable claims to consideration, expediency and the reason of the thing would leave any fair and sensible management unaltered, and only do away with false imputations and invented grievances. An easier example is the management of choirs, church music, and the regulation of times and manner of services. Principle and conscience have their measure given in the Prayer Book, supplemented by the Ordinary, and for the accessories or special forms of conducting and arranging services in accordance with that, no private personal taste or habit can rightly be called a matter of conscience. What is shown to be the intention of the Prayer Book, and to be done out of obedience to that, will not fail to carry its acceptance on that reason.

There is no better example of the fairness and wisdom of full explanation of the reasons why a thing is done, than the conduct of Services. There is nothing in which suitability for the actual place and people is more essentially the chief consideration. The theory of trusting the settlement to one responsible clergy judgment rests in the hope that no men will have the power of judgment in their hands, who empty churches to insist on their own ideas—who ‘*solitudinem faciunt, pacem appellant.*’ Emptiness created by zeal without knowledge may justify itself against emptiness created by neglect without knowledge. But the emulation is between deadness and alienation, and the latter may waken the more keen and lasting opposition by disquieting earnest people who have opinions. The spiritual value of beautiful churches and services stands most fully out by contrast with the dissatisfied deadness where church and services are uncared for. I see in every district happy advances in parish care and satisfaction. But I feel more and more that for such satisfaction the Prayer Book must be felt to be the regulator of the advance, and that the lead and influence of devoted men is disabled by any distrust of loyalty to that.

I understand it to be the difference of principle between Churchmen and Congregationalists that the latter regard

each minister with his following to be independently free and sufficient to settle doctrine and worship in any form at any moment, while Churchmen rest on settlements guaranteed by authority which ought to regulate the clergy. I shall not begin now to speak in any detail about services, which may form a separate subject. It is my only point now that parishioners may reasonably claim from their clergy the services directed by the Prayer Book—all and no other; and although it may be true, as it is in accordance with the Archbishop's judgment in *Read v. Bishop of Lincoln*, that length of custom may establish a use which may avail against the Prayer Book directions being enforced, yet even so it is not legal requirement but pastoral satisfaction for people's good desires that ought to be the measure of a minister's service. I do not mean that individual habits, or fancies, or theories, can claim indulgence in what the Prayer Book does not prescribe or recognise. Towns can supply variety not possible in the country—*e.g.*, one man cannot repeat celebrations of the Holy Communion to meet individual feelings about hours and methods. But the full measure of the Prayer Book may reasonably be asked and given, and a thoughtful pastor will let all share his consideration, and specially will not insist on imposing upon all only the particular method and time which he prefers himself. It has been reassuring to receive reiterated assertions that the Prayer Book is the Church's law, so final that no Churchman can think of going behind it. It forms, at any rate, in the matter of Church services, the measure that may be rightly expected for minimum no less than for maximum, for maximum no less than for minimum. 'The Church must stand on her principles.' She must, then, know her own principles and those opposed to hers. She must make them known to her people and to those opposed to her.

As a teaching Church she must teach her own people in their Church pulpits her principles of Church system, of Church doctrine, of Church worship, and teach them as what she is convinced are truer than those opposed to hers. Speaking the truth in love, she will not be polemical or censorious, but explanatory and instructive. With such teaching, and with reasonable capacity, her teachers will

draw those who have separated, but who desire only the truth, to hear. If they draw them also to answer, that is the true way to agreement in time. Distinctive Church teaching is what is expected and respected from churches and pulpits, which ought to speak for those within and those without the distinctive teaching of our Church, directly in preaching, indirectly in worship.

Our Church's teaching may be the hardest to grasp, but that is rather evidence for its truth about its mysteries. When our Church's *via media* combination of the spiritual and material truths which unite in religious mysteries is divided, and made either wholly spiritual or wholly material, to satisfy poorer intelligence, it is not unnatural for minds, which see one-half more clearly than the whole, to fancy that they are advanced to a higher level, when they have only gone beyond the highest and begun a descent on the other side—possibly lower down than others who had not reached the Church of England *via media* level. The difficulty of explaining spiritual things, the temptation to enhance reverence for them by superstition, the easy lapse into untruths because they are clear, are good reasons for limiting general teaching which is beyond the teacher's power of explanation or the hearers' of understanding. Obedience and use is often the best teacher. Common-sense and honesty may for this cause limit the subjects of teaching, but the point before me now is not its limits, but its character—viz., that it is bound to be the distinctive teaching of our Church, as contained in our Prayer Book. Perhaps I should rather say her 'distinct' teaching, for I know that the phrase 'distinctive Church teaching' has been misused in two senses—firstly, to express 'controversial attacks,' and, secondly, to express teaching not of our Church, but of one Church party, sometimes far from distinctive of our Church.

Now, it is quite reasonable for clergy and students to discuss any of our tenets, and on reason held, to try to get them altered. Our Reformed Church condemns the idea that a Church can be so infallible that an utterance once made admits no alteration. Our Reformed Church principle is perpetual reconsideration. But it is not reasonable for our clergy

to preach as if they were doctrines of our Church, because the preacher thinks they ought to be so, doctrines not accepted or even condemned by our Church; nor to express in ritual or enjoin in practices, as if they were legitimate in our Church, theories and usages which our Church has deliberately determined not to sanction. It is not to the purpose to argue, 'The Church might teach this'; it must be shown that she does, otherwise the teaching may not be called hers. I may, on some other occasion, illustrate my meaning.

My text to-day is, 'The Church must stand on her principles'; and my purpose has been, in accepting that cry, to say that for its purpose Church principles mean those of the Church of England, in order, in worship, in doctrine; and that among those principles stands, in way and degree peculiar to her, that of the pastorate and its relations to its people; and that it will be upon the true maintenance of this more than any other principle of our Church that the question turns whether our Church will stand on her principles. 'Principles!' A Heathen would say, '*A Jove principium.*' Our God is our principle. Religion means that life and all begins with God, and ought to be for God, and end in God. Our Christian ministry is dedicated to the Honour of God and the Edification of His people. Our strength must be in the Lord God. In our ministry for others that is our help to them, to turn to trust and look to God in prosperity and adversity. 'Be not afraid; My Help is near.' He will not leave His servant nor forsake him. It must be our lesson to ourselves to find strength for the battle, courage under difficulties, endurance in weariness and disappointment. '*Sursum corda.*' Lift up your hearts unto the Lord. It is meet and right so to do.

PART IV.—CHURCH QUESTIONS

DELIVERED IN THE CHURCH OF ALL SAINTS, DERBY, MAY 12, 1896.

I desired to notice to-day some points in the Visitation answers made to me by the clergy on questions referring to the spiritual methods in their parishes.

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Here followed statistics of services, Church choirs, and hymnals. The Bishop gave testimony to the value of parish missions. He then said:

RUBRICS BILL.

To turn to more general questions about Church services, I do not know what clergy or what laity would welcome a power to alter rubrics more readily. But a Bill is now before Convocation to seek power for Convocation, with the Crown's license, to alter rubrics and add services, subject to Royal Assent, not as an Act of Parliament, but as laid before the Houses for objections. Such changes ought to have due lay assent; but due lay consideration will be better given by the Queen in Council than in the process of an Act of Parliament. Such spiritual matters, unconcerned with property, have been thought by advanced Liberals to be matters ill suited for debates, and properly devolved upon the Spirituality. I think it myself a right time for such a step to facilitate Church legislation, which must by its nature be always subject to such checks and difficulties that, if the power be obtained, it is sure to be held to be one which '*commendat varior usus.*' As I have said elsewhere, the rubrics are only one particular subject for Church legislation. It is not, however, an unimportant one. There are ambiguous rubrics, there are disused rubrics, there are rubrics which are observed according to personal disposition, it is possible there are rubrics which our Church might wish to change. There are also rubrics which are needed to be added, where custom had been accepted as regulating uses, till that double-edged principle '*that omission is (or is not) prohibition*' was evoked to alter established usage.

It is an interesting thing to find a Conference of private clergy issue interpretations of our rubrics on their own account to promote uniformity, at least, among the clergy of the same way of thinking, and to restrain extravagance in the younger who might exaggerate their predecessors' ideas. It is only to be expected that such a Conference would give the interpretations which its members followed in their own ritual actions. There could scarcely help being some special pleading in its reasons; but its brief might assist discussion, while it may be taken also as an argument that some authoritative interpreta-

tion ought to be made. It is not as an unimportant thing that the rubrics are selected for revision first in this procedure. They colour the services according to their interpretation. But I think that the proposals made will give the fullest opportunity for more judicial consideration of changes than a Parliamentary debate. It may, perhaps, seem to some Churchmen that Convocation might issue interpretations of rubrics, without further assistance. But that body could scarcely follow the Conference I have mentioned by directing clergy to act on principles contrary to those adopted by the Courts before whom they might afterwards be tried; if it did, it would incur some responsibility towards them.

In regard to investigations of history as the base for interpretation, liturgical knowledge of what preceded requires to be itself subject to principles of inferences—*e.g.*, Are alterations by omission to be taken to be alterations? and are the blanks to be filled up by replacing what was omitted if no rubric states the patent fact of its omission? The nature of the intended continuity of services with what was before is the question usually at issue among theologians or historians, and that is not to be settled simply by stating what was before, but by inferential interpretation from what exists compared with what was before, in the light of the general spirit of the changes of which the instance was part. The practical question is, generally, Do people wish to find the intention? or to show that what they wish might have been intended?

As to changes of rubrics, people must remember that we never know that a rubric, which some custom had caused to be disregarded as useless, may not come to have reason again from change of circumstances—*e.g.*, Notice of intention to communicate may enable provision to be made where need would not be otherwise known. Changes in church and chancel arrangements, with the custom of all non-communicants withdrawing from church, had practically abrogated the rubric which ordered the communicants 'to be conveniently placed for the receiving the Holy Communion'; it is now again shown to be of great use, and ought to be revived in every church when non-communicants hinder Communion. The rule that there must be at least three to communicate

besides the priest, as assertion of the principle of Holy Communion, was in that sense directed against solitary Masses; but when I find a young priest desire to have regular Celebrations when one woman only was expected to attend, then I see the wisdom of a rule which need not enter into any such considerations. It is as with our Articles; we may think their time passed, as people think of the Athanasian Creed, and then, all at once, will come up again, as fresh as ever, some of the disputes of which the Creeds are the recorded settlement.

The power to add fresh services may be a larger one and more useful, if not less difficult to use—*e.g.*, I think that real claim to consideration may be made for the feeling which desires the Memorial of Christ's Sacrifice on the Cross to be more publicly presented in our Church than for the few who will constantly communicate. I could never feel, on the one or two occasions when I have been present, that our Communion Service is suited to non-communicants. The Consecration Prayer is itself conclusive to me. Some Memorial services, more impressive than our prayers and hymns, which touch prepared sympathy rather than waken it, might be a teaching and converting power to souls who cannot find their places in the Prayer Book. Again, I see nothing touch poor souls more deeply and naturally than services of Memorial for their dead. Foreign forms of service may be incongruous, and ought not to be introduced by individuals. But nature is nature, and hearts that have loved and lost may well be taught in church the lessons of the Resurrection for their comfort better than in decking the poor body's grave. The English Reformation horror of Romish indulgences was most true and deserved. Rome says so too. But it is an anachronism now. Such services would add tenderness to our Church, and be both primitive and expedient. Each mourner helps to weaken the lingering doubts about them.

Again, our services for Marriage and Burial are only too beautiful for all occasions, fain as we are to hope their beauty may have virtue. I have been asked to take steps to prevent marriages in what are called the prohibited seasons. Rome does no such thing. She will not put off marriages when

desired. She has two services. Marriage is never to be refused. But her full blessing is not given always. There is cause for a second marriage service more serious than Church seasons. I have put out, in virtue of my Diocesan authority, a second Burial service, and it has been very occasionally of service. It would be more properly provided by our whole Church. It may, perhaps, be thought beyond present fitness to speak of such services as these, where missions, church dedications, hospitals, harvest festivals, school feasts, Rogation Days, and such additions, might seem to satisfy the occasion. But if that were supposed, and the power was sanctioned on that supposition, we should never use it for the larger purposes, or, if we did, we might well be thought to exceed what was intended. I think the time has come when authoritative readjustments ought to be possible. I do not question that changes of sentiment are formed by the active interest of individual clergy, presented either in Associations or Unions, or in more publicly open channels of discussion. It is very difficult to draw lines, either in theory or practice, about such public discussions of sacred subjects. I have often recognised that the really practical Œcumenical Council in these days of open literary debate is constituted ultimately, for theological no less than secular subjects, by the growth of general public opinion formed by full hearing of both sides. But it is Church principle that novelties should be tried under authority. It is Congregationalism for individual clergy to make new uses, and if their congregation submit or approve, to claim independent authority for them. The Church is wise to provide the liberty no less than the control made possible by an Ordinary. If clergy will develop their own ideas, and assert their superior knowledge where Sarum Use may rule their ceremonial, and act upon some modern private manuals and catechisms and calendars, of no Sarum or other Church authority, but mere private Romanisms, they would at least be wiser to consult their Ordinary. Control is really for liberty.

Controversies conducted by hostile vans in the street may rouse unlearned interest in great questions, but they do not promote good feeling or Church feeling. I do not believe such rude methods will meet the sympathy of any religious people,

but that their violent ways will only react against them in the general Christian feeling of the people. But if such controversies hinge upon unauthorized uses or manuals or ceremonies, the answer which the Church provides is thrown away, and each man stands, not on the Church, but on himself. There are fanatics; don't let them be on both sides. I would gladly advise the Associations which enter on street controversies if they would.

But parish clergy I have to advise, whether I or they will or no. I beg them to remember that parish churches are for all the people of the parish, and that to help all the people is the pastor's office. He has no right to make a conscience of ways or practices not prescribed or authorized for him. He has not, to my mind, learnt his office, if he cannot consider his people's state of knowledge and feeling as fully as his own idea of what is perfection. I beg them to distinguish these two things: the aim to carry out exactly the services of the Prayer Book, and the aim to alter them as much as they can. The second view seems taken elsewhere enough to show a new departure, though this Diocese itself has not been marked in that way. This has created a movement not only individual or local, to revive from central Associations their old protests, if not in law-courts, then in the streets. No doubt they miss their mark sometimes, or are locally misdirected to do harm. But it rests with the clergy to make clear their loyalty and their considerateness, and sometimes to learn better what they are about. Their time to consult the Ordinary is beforehand. Meanwhile there is an uneasy sense in lay Churchmen that that is the last thing some wish. I commend this to the consideration of those vexed by the revival. But I desire to emphasize that I do feel that it is very rare to find unwisdom in this Diocese in these things, and where there is some underground spirit of transformation, as I feel there is, it is not in puerility, but on the ground of some aim that is real and high, though I may not believe in its truth.

FASTING COMMUNION AND COMPULSORY CONFESSION.

There are, however, two main practices or rules on which the present stress is most laid, of which I am unable to

refrain from repeating my conviction of their untruth and positive harm. Of them both it is the case that English downrightness and sincerity goes far beyond the rules of Roman casuistry, which makes rules to be broken. I see very real loss arising from a rigorous rule of fasting Communion, both in breaking up the unity of Church-people's Communion who cannot conform to its methods, and also in destroying the use of the Holy Communion on Public occasions, besides the evils of individual scruples with no foundation but a supposed rule. I shall, without repeating all I wrote four years ago, assure all who wish to know its obligation, and who are told that it is a universal Church rule from primitive times, that there is no ground for this. The first mention is 400 years after Christ, and then the Council of the African Church at Carthage* made a rule. But what was the rule? Not for the people at all, but a Canon amongst those for clergy, that the Celebrant should fast before. Such a Canon so limited is complete proof that universal fasting for the people was no existing rule then—*i.e.*, during the first centuries which count as our primitive guides. No general rule was made before the Council of Constance† in the fifteenth century which has no obligation for us. Were I to analyze the Penitentials of the dates just preceding the Papal developments, I might seem to wish to ridicule the solemnity attached to the rule—I am far from wishing that. By all means let all whose reverence is helped by it observe the practice. But I do say that it was no primitive Church rule, nor in accord with primitive Christian ideas. It is a grievous harm that superstitious misuse of a reverent practice disables the public unity of the Church in Holy Communion. There is no unity when non-communicants only pass a sad censure on the backward ignorance of those who communicate.

But it is a far graver danger still, in my judgment, that clergy press for 'Sacramental Confession' from all before their Communion. This system of compulsory confession, whether as a formal duty or as penitential benefit, I condemn in the most utter way that I can. Even the Council of Trent enjoins 'Sacramental Confession' before communicating only on

* A.D. 397.

† A.D. 1414-1418.

persons guilty of mortal sin. Those who are conscious of such sin may well seek direction and restoration. For all who really want counsel about their souls the clergy will, if they are pastors, be willing and encouraging with readiness to help. That is our Church's system. That is wisdom and kindness. But when I hear of clergy refusing to bring candidates to Confirmation unless they promise to practise private confession before Communion, I feel bound to say very plainly that that is not our Church's system, and that I trust our Church will never return to that blind method, and that I hope earnestly that parents and children alike will refuse to submit to the bondage of compulsory private confession. The annual Roman penance of Lent confession is different, but no less against our Church system. Considerations of this nature raise the question whether Church authorities can meet the situation, as is needed, without some clearer recognition of their office in their special department. It may be hoped that the Rubrics Bill which has formed the occasion for these remarks may serve that purpose.

CHURCH SCHOOLS.

The second agency for spiritual progress is in our schools. How much value the clergy have attached to them you have shown in these four years too fully for me to dwell on it. But I do not think we can any of us compare our part with the loyal service maintained in the face of unfair competition by our town Church schoolmasters, to whom we owe our fullest recognition. Our Church schools have been bearing the brunt of the indirect attacks on the Church, and are now forming the prominent feature in the political programme before the country. It is not wonderful that the extreme power placed in the hands of what has been practically the Minister of Elementary Education was made to be seen in alarming reality by the sudden urgency with which requirements of unprecedented extent were imposed all at once along the whole line of Church schools by the late occupant of the Office. Of those requirements in themselves I have before said that they were in general not without reasonable ground, having regard to the scale of modern advance and expectation. They varied

from large new schools to trumpery orders to shift doors and windows. Universal orders for questionable cloak-rooms and the latest Kindergarten arrangements formed the majority of cases, and some amusing orders of playgrounds and walled enclosures in the country were mixed with some impossible orders in towns. Of most of the requirements, however, I found no reasonable complaint.

But the proceeding was, for all that, a marked one, and brought out into relief the power which a Minister with an army of Inspectors had possessed, to put any amount of simultaneous pressure upon a whole system of schools, if ever politics or predisposition so tended. The bureaucratic craft of hinting to officials an object to be accomplished by one means or another was felt to have been exercised at last in England, if not with foreign thoroughness, with a fair degree of skill for a beginning. Circumstances favoured the step, and I am not disposed myself to exaggerate the spirit; but taking the whole action together, I cannot affect to wonder at the impression widely created that there was a Plan of Campaign in it.

Statistics were here given of Diocesan funds raised and money spent on Church school buildings; of their number, and that of the Board schools in the Diocese.

The sums returned as contributed towards the maintenance of Church schools amount to £80,000 in voluntary subscriptions in the four years, and £15,500 in endowments. This statement presents no material change in the position of Church schools in the Diocese in these eight years, except the very important one that their deficiencies in buildings have been made good. In themselves they are in as good, if not in a better, position generally than they were. But the competition (I use the term advisedly) of the School Boards and the never-ending novelties of the Education Codes are infinite in their unchecked capabilities of outrunning exchequers limited by the human motives of individuals spending their own money. I suppose the Education Department must be almost anxious to be saved from itself, or, rather, I should say, from the worrying fancies of Educationists. It must hail some decentralization of its slavery to them, being, as I fully

believe, itself a wise and practical Body. Schools will be none the better generally for exchanging its calm, distant suzerainty for nearer prejudice and local despotism, though, as I have said, the excess of self-asserting energy developed by its late head has caused a revolt. The enormous growth of its business, adding Office to Office beyond any other Service, must overflow into the country—or '*mole ruet sua.*'

THE EDUCATION BILL, 1896.

You will expect me to talk about the revolution in our Educational system now proposed, and I must, I suppose, do so. The Bill proposed is made for two principles: (1) The decentralization; (2) the preservation of Church schools. It is constructed with great departmental skill to meet all the prominent past complaints about the existing system, the lack of public control and of liberty of teaching, and the unfair incidence of money charges and restrictions. I will refer to these points, but I should like to say a few more general words first.

In 1870—need I remind you?—a step in National Education was taken, a step of considerable effect. It was nothing less than opening blindly an unlimited purse to the uncontrolled developments of eager educationists chosen on the unanswerable principle of popular election. I say 'blindly,' because the honest promoter of the measure promised that the utmost cost should be a threepenny rate. Now, after all that I have before now said about that Act and its results, you will not suppose me likely to begin to abuse it. Certainly not. But I propose to ask some questions not irrelevant to talk going on not far off about 'the noble School Board system being in jeopardy.' If School Board education is better than the old, what are its points of betterment? And who and what have made it so? Suppose the money powers given to School Boards had been allowed to the old schools, would they not have done better still? Compulsory education has been the most effective step of the new system. It reformed many slums by bringing the street arabs to school. But this law is not School Boards' doing. It is the Legislature's. But the execution of it is the School Boards' affair.

What was their justice and their wisdom therein? Firstly, they would allow no Church child free education except as a pauper. Secondly, they would force all the well-trained children of good homes to be mixed up with the poor ignorants of the gutter, and learn their language and their habits, despite all protests of the helpless parents who never would have let them mix. Do we imagine that masters of the high character of Board school headmasters would have had no discipline, no separation, no reforming schools, or let all sorts of children trail home in that undistinguished crowd which gives advantage to the worst? It's not the masters, but the School Boards that are responsible for this chief blot on Compulsory Education. Then, what has been the fruit of the schooling? Has English work improved in skill or thoroughness? Does it hold its own as it did when work was education? Even in clerkships and such sedentary posts, do our boys make their way better against foreigners? Or take the mental tests: do they think better, or have they got interest in reading and intellectual pleasures? How many can read two years after leaving school? What introduction to knowledge or study has been given them?

Now, I do not impute the codes to School Boards, but to experimentalists under the pressure of flighty theorists. But this accumulation of class subjects, arts and sciences, and practical business instruments, all to be learnt before eleven years of age—have School Boards examined their reality and criticised and opposed their fatuous lines, or have they fostered them either in false admiration or in the satisfaction of advantage given by them to the long purse in a competition when the poorer school must some day be overburdened beyond bearing? 'The School Boards have nothing to do with this,' do you say? Then, what is their claim to have made education? Is it their buildings? Is that their achievement? Well, did they build their schools on principle so big, or was it their ignorance and fear of architects, until a standard was made which has to be maintained for consistency? Or is it their good staff of masters? I am not likely to grudge schoolmasters good stipends. But the School Boards, did they raise the standard from love of schoolmasters or out of

competition to carry off the best by bribes? And when they had them, how did they treat them? Did School Boards always treat them as personally and friendly as Church Managers do theirs? Or had masters to wait for that till Boards made some personal management instead of a Board clerk or other officer? But what about the buildings and staffs? What is the School Board's part in them? Just simply money—the rates and no control.

What is this 'grand School Board system' but the possession of the money? 'The School Board works very hard.' No doubt. So do Church Managers, with no offices, no paid official, no endless rates to save the labour of collecting money. In what does their work itself differ? That the Church Managers don't waste whole days in political wrangling. What reason is there to suppose that if the National schools had had the rates to develop them, as they ought to have had, and as they must have yet, their managers would not have done the business more effectively, more intelligently, and more peaceably, as well as with much less extravagant wastefulness? Despite the heavily weighted disadvantages of National schools, there is no proportionate shortcoming in their results as it is. Many parents prefer them now. But that is not the way to put it. With School Board rates, how would they stand? Just try and see. Next, what about the fairness? When by some blundering weakness in 1870 local option in religion was given to a majority of voters, it was not given fairly. The Cowper Temple Clause strangled the local option by fixing a maximum when it fixed no minimum. School Boards might teach no religion; they might not teach any but undenominational religion. So you may hear Dissenters call Board Schools their schools. That makes the chief question, Why are the rates only for what Dissenters think fit to call their schools? When it is complained that village schools do not have Dissenting teachers, it suggests the question, In Derby how many Board school assistant teachers are Churchmen?

Then, are School Board elections great advantages to education? Is it pretended to have been to improve education that the last Board was changed at Nottingham, for example? I

read that the victory was a party victory, due to the excellent work of the Liberal Association, 'whose secretary left nothing undone that could be done.' I do not believe that any sane man thought the cry of 'No Popery' was needed in Nottingham. It was a party agitation. Well and good. Only do not profess it was for Education. So now it is the Liberal Association that is called upon to see if it cannot make the Education Bill a plank on which to reunite the shattered party, not to consider education. School Board elections only inflame divisions and hinder real attention to education. They are, I suppose, a considerable element in the revulsion of feeling in the country against School Boards. But gain as it is for a place to escape these triennial agitations, it is not for that only that places keep out School Boards. 'The people' are not trusted, it seems, so entirely by agitators as they are fond of declaiming. If the people of Heanor, for example, prefer to build and maintain nine schools rather than have a School Board, the people are not to be trusted there. And yet the people may have seen the impracticable domination of some School Board near, and that for masterfulness 'its little finger was thicker than the parson's loins.' Why call 'the people' fools if they fail to see 'public spirit' in plunging into School Boards to save subscriptions at your neighbour's cost? It may be fair enough, but where is the public spirit or claim of nobleness? Is not 'the people' free except under the iron rule of Independents? which was more than our fathers could bear, and has been more than our own times could bear in places where it showed its true temper, even on School Boards. Why mayn't 'the people' say, 'The last kind of management we wish is a School Board; we have managers whom we prefer for the share of the taxes which falls to our portion, and the Government has its own managers to see public supervision satisfied'? What is the virtue of School Board elections to show the people's wishes about education, when they are conducted on political lines with no thought for education? And when 'the people' give substantial proof by voluntary payments that they prefer to choose their form of popular control otherwise than by School Board elections, are they not fit for Local Option then? Are there

no Church parents or children concerned in the employment of the public moneys voted for education? The strange thing is that, small as the body of Independents is in the country, its speakers seem, like their old forefathers, to be really possessed with an idea that they alone have any rights or popular support, and that the Church of England and her clergy are merely aggressive intruders on what an honest man sees to be their domain. Is it so? Or do those speakers only live too much among themselves out of the larger world? or is their indignation all rhetorical? I cannot accept it as having any ground of fact or justice. When the other side only claims to be half the nation, surely it must allow us to have equal rights as the other half.

Now, there are some questions of a kind that must be settled by a bare majority, if opinions are so divided—*e.g.*, one man to be elected to an office; a force that has to act together, like police; the settlement to take or not to take up some public enterprise, as in towns making parks, waterworks, etc., when ‘To be or not to be?’ is the one question. Then the majority, or some fixed proportion, has to settle for all. But in other questions, of which education is one, satisfaction of the people’s wishes will be best met by proportional alternatives. One system for all suits no one but our despot. I should think dual systems must give extra trouble to central officials. But I have not found them keen for uniformity. They see what value for the work there is in emulating systems, and really such emulation makes all people work more amenably than men in sole possession. The good of rivalry to everyone is obvious. In schools the dual system creates no difficulty for teaching or for management if it is accepted. Each school is complete in itself, and its relation to a Central power is separate from that of other schools. Only in separate schools can parents, teachers, children, managers, supporters, have satisfaction.

Then, the best way to satisfy all people is to provide schools for each set that like the same ways in proportion to their numbers, not as hostile schools, but as schools desired by this or that part of the people, whose wishes the Central

power has to consider. Each part alike pays its proportion of the rates, each part alike is part of the people, with the same claim to have its wishes met out of the common fund to which they pay. Those that are Church desire Church schools, and pay for their provision to the common fund, as Undenominationalists pay their share, but no more than their share, which is all they have a right to claim to enjoy in their own way, and with no better right than Church people have to enjoy theirs. I see that Dissenters complain that Church schools are to have a subsidy from the taxes to which Dissenters pay as well as Church-people. They would, I say, be reasonable in complaining were it not that undenominational schools are wholly paid for by rates to which Church-people pay equally while they dislike the schools. What is earned is earned by both alike under the same public conditions of inspection of all sorts. If we were starting afresh, it would be simpler to pay for each set from the common rate fund, but as things are, it would, perhaps, complicate more than simplify. Besides, the general wealth that pays the taxes is fairly saddled with a part of the adjustment. But the source of the subsidy is immaterial to the receivers, and the question of justice is, Why is one system wholly paid for by rates to any extent, and the other expected to raise subscriptions?

My idea, then, of the final system, now that our schools are come to subsidies, is that of a dual system of schools in which parents' religious wishes shall be met in different schools, maintained alike up to the same degree by the same Central Board by law. Nothing, perhaps, looks less like this at first sight than the new Bill. But take its combination of tendencies, and I forecast results very like it in time, shorter or longer, but I think shorter. Take town Church schools first. Hitherto no Local Authority has had a word to say to them. That independence has been their comfort. Government inspection may press at proper times, but not with jealousy or party spirit. What will their state be now? What is the difference between a School Board and Municipal Council? The latter is more permanent, and has no clergy on it. It seems preferred as not elected for the purpose.

What power has the Municipal Council given it over Church schools? Just what the Council choose to make it. Inspection of their buildings, staff, code, everything, with power to mulct them on its own authority of the disputed Government subsidy, of which such mulcts become a surplus fund at the Municipal Council's disposal. No power is given the Council to expand the buildings, staff, etc., up to a higher level while they are Church schools, and no degree of completeness need satisfy it. If Board schools are not extravagant, but the right standard, how is the Council to decide that smaller buildings are proper for Church schools? Either it may pass a contumelious verdict which Church schools will not accept, and I believe it is thought that to save rates from schools coming upon them Councils will acquiesce, not complimentarily; or if they do not see how one Authority can have two standards, and so make requisitions of Board school magnitude, will men go on subscribing under conditions worse than the Department's? They'll soon say, 'Well, we'd better make the Council responsible, and go upon the rates.' Because, you see, parents may claim religious teaching; and though parents will not be likely to claim it in Board schools, where Clause 27 will be a *brutum fulmen* under that condition, yet in schools once Church schools I think they would, and I suppose the Educational Authority would let it go on as before. In that way there would be the dual system of which I spoke under the same authority and on the rates. This course of things seems not impossible. I will not go into the other schools, Board or Country. In different ways I think the same end likely. The simple fact, of course, is that the Bill depends entirely on the new Local Educational Authority, and that we are to trust. There is only one point on which we are not to trust. The Councils may not be allowed to prefer a Committee with less than a majority from itself. Why? Why may not a County Council, if it chooses, appoint an Education Committee even wholly from outside itself, but at any rate with only some representatives, as it would be sure to wish? Who will be the Council for continuous reference but the clerk? Have the councils accepted the big office? How can they do it? and how will it affect

their own future? I fear the floodgates of religious disputes will be opened over all the Local Government elections, which we have been for years trying to free from thought of anything but getting the best county rulers. But if that is settled, surely the directly elected Council might be trusted fully, when they are trusted so much, and be allowed to complete indirectly an Educational Board. That Birmingham should insist on all town schools being delivered into municipal hands I understand, but why should municipal hands be tied on this one particular point? I wish to trust; but I cannot see that Free Education helped town Church schools' finances, nor can I feel that this Bill will keep their independence. Speaking for them, as is my office, I should like to trust more than I can.

I will not attempt to speak of secondary education now. In my Primary Charge I urged the Diocese to make that a chief care, and I think no less of it now. But I do not think it wise to deal with it in the same Act as elementary education, nor by the same Authorities. I say no more about it.

What will the minor points do? I am very glad our teachers should get four shillings a child, if the Town Council approves. It won't be much among so many. But if even a small gleam cheers them up to be content to go on not unhappily, that is, no doubt, a great thing for our schools. For the subscribers, I must hope that they will feel the prospects improved enough to settle them that schools may live on permanently, and so be ready to 'put up their backs' and say they will begin again. Only some particular schools will get much from the alteration of the 17s. 6d. limit, but it will soothe some struggling poor schools' sores. Then as to rating, that is merely placing us on an equality. I was amazed to read a statement made, not by one ignorant, but by a former School Board chairman, that 'Board schools were still to pay rates when Church school rates are to be paid out of the rates.' Who pays the Board schools' rates? The rates—the same that are at last to pay Church school rates too. More disingenuous Jesuitry to mislead

the ignorant was never uttered to show the nature of the campaign.

Why Nonconformists are so wild against the Bill I can't conceive. It certainly does not hurt them. In towns they may have more power, and in the country they have no less. They have everything they asked for liberty of teaching, except the liberty to prevent others teaching anything. Before they get that everywhere, short of which nothing seems enough for them, they have to show themselves the best, most learned, loftiest teachers. Our part is to make our schools the best possible, to help, encourage, and trust our teachers; to feel and show interest in the children, to do what we can to inspire the schools with the tone of character and the reality of reverence which are children's religion. Our part is mainly with our Church schools, which we are responsible for managing. But I do not believe myself in these schemes for our going into Board schools to supersede their teachers, nor do I sympathize with general attacks on Board school teaching of religion, as it has been and is, on account of exceptions which are better met in other ways. The general feeling of the country has been gradually working towards definite syllabuses for religious teaching, and in England the returns showed a fair average in a large proportion of schools. I do not believe that this movement will do anything but hinder this, and accentuate teaching in opposition. Government could not resist cries on both sides. Their provisions may easily become futile.

I am more afraid of a cleavage in the Teaching Profession. The Church ought not to create that, but to do all it can to unite and support all teachers as one body in mutual confidence between them and the Church. Board school teachers are not School Boards. While School Boards exist, Churchmen must get elected and slave at them. I hope a more educational Authority may succeed them. That Authority ought to be in some proportion to the schools put under its supervision. On that Educational Authority hangs the present Bill. Managers of Church schools see now what subsidies they can expect from the most favourable Government assurance of their claims and necessities. All is made to depend on subscriptions

being maintained. To sacrifice the schools, after all the special efforts made for them, would be too humiliating. We see the worst, and have to make the best of it—that is, subscribe.

Meanwhile, if this Bill has its best success, and by its skilful mysteries enables the country to get rid of party spirit in the great cause of education, and transfer its rivalries to the advance of true religion and sound learning, the rising generation may look back after a quarter of a century on more and happier results than we can boast of having reached by all the contests, all the incessant work, and all the ideas of all our School Board age since 1870. It is ill to have Education a subject of strife. ‘*Sursum corda!*’ Lift up your hearts unto the Lord! From jealousy and strife, from indifference and unfaithfulness, good Lord, deliver us! To bring children up in the admonition and fear of the Lord is a chief office and happiness of the Church. Let the Church think of Education as a sacred privilege, but rejoice if the people have learnt its duty too. Education will be strength to the Church, if we are earnest for it, for no other motive than our Lord’s command, ‘Suffer the little children to come unto Me, and forbid them not: for of such is the kingdom of God.’*

PART V.—‘THE CHURCH ESTABLISHED AND FREE’

DELIVERED IN THE CHURCH OF S. MARY AND ALL SAINTS,
CHESTERFIELD, MAY 13, 1896.

In my first Charge eight years ago I spoke of the wide union belonging to a National Church. It was said, ‘An Established Church creates Schism.’ ‘The exact opposite is the truth,’ was my reply. The settled and constitutional character of the Established Church is a force which does, in fact, keep together in it a wide variety of intellectual qualities and opinions, of social and spiritual powers, such as can only exist when independence within wide limits is guaranteed; but which, when it can exist, has a rich strength and completeness in the manifold forms of which it presents the

* S. Luke xviii. 16.

central type. This variety is possible for us, and it is due to our settled Constitution, which is called 'Our Establishment.' Where the opposite principle operates, there is no cohesion to overcome the tendency to repeated subdivisions in the bodies which have flung off from the Church. Dissent witnesses that the centrifugal force of unregulated individualism, which first separated bodies from us, goes on continually disintegrating them into smaller atoms, only to be reunited by accepting some limiting regulation such as that furnished by the Established Constitution of the Church. Individuals may have separated from dislike of Establishment as well as from dislike of any other tenet, but that is not the meaning of 'Establishment creates Schism.' Contrast the sects and the Church; their facts show the opposite to be true.

I have spoken again since, and have had the reply, 'An Established Church is a kingdom of this world.' It is a startling description. To me no two things seem more opposite, in methods, in action, in objects, than an Established Church and a kingdom of this world. What does a kingdom do? It manages war and peace, commerce and order, property and taxes, political rights and material well-being. It acts through alliances and diplomacy and judicature ending in war abroad, hangings and prisons at home. Its secular action is all for material objects and by material methods. It makes, in other words, the body's life. The Church in the body is the spiritual conscience influencing the kingdom of the world to become the kingdom of the Lord and of His Christ. The kingdom's secular organs work for material strength, security, prosperity, and justice, but history witnesses to kingdoms' action being inspired and elevated by religion through the Church embodied in its organism. Why is such influence more worldly than if it stood apart as an outside preceptor in conflict and friction instead of in united life? Why more unspiritual than political agitation pursuing its own power for religion by the ordinary methods of this world? The Church as a kingdom of this world was seen in the Papacy, as a temporal sovereignty, pushing religion by wars, invasions, force, seeking rule and territories like the States round it. Or it may be seen in the Mohammedan system.

Those contrasts bring out clearly the absurdity of calling our Church such a kingdom. But, indeed, the idea contradicts the more usual taunt levelled at an Established Church, that it is not even free to be its own master, much less to be a kingdom.

Now that I have again, after four years, to return to the same subject, the contrast raised about our relations is between Established and Free Churches, as they are called. I propose to speak of this to-day. The later attitude of the other bodies does not encourage me to speak of Reunion, and I must speak rather of Contrast. If I speak to wise men, they will judge what I say. The Chairman of the Congregational Union is reported in *The Times* to-day to have said at the meeting at the City Temple yesterday that reunion is a 'mere chimera.' I believe, as my first paragraph presented, that the Established position of our Church on its national basis and constitutional order is the source of greater freedom both for clergy and people than the unregulated state of the so-called Free Churches.

My returns state in 423 parishes 1,020 Dissenting chapels, but in many cases the returns do not specify the Bodies, so that I cannot pretend to classify them.

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Exclusive of Nottingham and Derby, there are returned 164 resident Dissenting ministers, against 180 returned in 1892 on about the same number of returns. The whole number returned at my first Visitation was 270, against 200 now in the same number of returns. The towns form a question of their own. But if the returns are right, the country may present a grave question. What is the meaning of the diminution of resident ministers about the counties, which has appeared in two marked stages at my successive Visitations? If it means that in hard times, such as we have had both in agricultural and mining districts, the resident ministers cannot be maintained, the returns (if correct, as I have no reason to doubt, though this time I have had no leisure to verify them independently) have real significance about the working of the Voluntary System. Does that system make its ministers free to work without insecurity? I wish my returns

had been more distinct in their descriptions, and that I could so speak less generally than they enable me to do. But though I have been somewhat startled by the returns, I must say that the Dissenting Journals and Conferences, that I have read, leave a similar impression, and the apologetic statistics given to remove such suspicions have seemed rather elaborate, and (as Shakespeare says) to 'protest too much.'

Looking back at former utterances of mine, I cannot find that I have ever spoken otherwise than with friendly respect of the Christian side of Dissent, though I have wished that it had remained Nonconformist in the Church, and not become Separatist. But Dissent now is 'nothing if not' political, and political Dissent is a different thing. Its objects, its arguments, its methods, are decidedly secular. I have on other occasions examined some of its positions. I shall present to-day the assumption on which it exalts itself particularly just now, at a time when it seems less than ever justified by facts. I will take it as stated lately by a speaker who could not be restrained in a Conference of Free Churches at Nottingham, but broke out with this battle-cry, 'They were there as Free Churchmen, as well as citizens. It rolled very pleasantly off the tongue to say that it' [*i.e.*, the Schools Bill] 'was not a fight between Episcopalians and Nonconformists. That was true in one sense. It was a fight between the Clergy and the People.' That is the assumption. Nonconformists are (in their own eyes and words) the people. I do not doubt the speaker really thinking so. That is why I denounce it. If it was only rhetoric, it might be left to burst its own bubble. But it rings as if it were really believed. Well! It is not said whether Dissenting ministers are clergy or people. Let them, if they will, be, for the purpose of this argument, people, not clergy. But even counting them, the speaker himself only claims that the Nonconformists are half the nation. 'Wrong half the nation,' he says, 'you wrong the whole.' Accepted. But which half? or why is it true of only one-half? Even that is not the point. But if the speaker only claims one-half, how is that the people? He cannot be referring to class distinctions, for Dissent has been as much as anything a class religion.

I have taken this speech as my peg to hang my protest on, though by itself such an individual speech may seem to you a negligible quantity. But it is at this moment what Americans call 'The Trunk Assumption' on which Dissenting tirades are based. In them the Church people, who, in the speaker's reckoning, are 'half the nation,' are nobody, don't exist—Church parents, children, ratepayers, taxpayers, no less than clergy, don't exist. 'Half the nation' can't be foreigners and aliens with no rights. They are half the nation, but they don't exist. What the proportion is we do not know, because we have no religious census. Which way the tendency is we cannot tell, because we have had none for some time. I have said 'half' simply as quoting from the particular speech. Such tirades are useful. A Churchman could not state the case so forcibly. Churchmen may begin to see the absurdity of this Trunk Assumption, and begin 'to pinch themselves,' and be reassured of their own existence. 'The people' seem awakening to it. Indeed, if there be clergy fighting against people, if there be clergy fighting for their own hand, it is not the clergy of the Church of England, but the political Dissenting clergy. This assumption is most prominently argued upon in the Education question, where the most clamorous Dissenting indignation is spent on 'the people' not having control of schools which 'half the nation' manage under the supervision of Government.

But I think it not irrelevant to make one or two remarks suggested by the character and utterances of the same Conference. In the first place, it is *another* Body, if it was in any sense a body. It repudiated the existing bodies, the Congregationalist Union, the Wesleyan Conference, the Presbyterian Assembly, and all other representative organizations. It was not, however, to be supposed to be 'a loose collection of individuals like the Church Congress, without character or cohesion.' It was a Council of some bodies for resolutions and action on its own account. It was made of delegates, more like (it professed) a Trades Union Conference. But who delegated them is not so clear. Some churches, which were Free Churches, and Evangelical as excluding on one side Unitarians, but whether it was 'some' or 'the' Evangelical

Free Churches—*i.e.*, whether it represented the congregations or individual congregations which chose to take part—was not clear from the reports given. It seemed a new clan gathering ‘marching as for war,’ but of free lances, or else all chieftains; but that is only so far my concern that well-known and outspoken leaders give me occasion to refer to their Conference.

Some years ago, when another Nonconformist Conference met in Nottingham, of Wesleyans or Methodists, I noticed some ‘changes of attitude’ not then so familiar as they have become now, when I need only recall them. On the one hand was the change of attitude proclaimed by their own organ, from which I borrowed the term, the change of the Wesleyans plunging into political alliance with the Congregationalists to undermine the Church of England, and make the first step by abandoning religious education. But that was not then welcomed by their organ, which sympathized more with their spiritual movement for united prayer for the reunion of the Seven Churches into which they have divided in the century—a reunion no more completed yet than that of the three Presbyterian Scotch Churches divided with no doctrinal difference.

My own notice was, however, of their changes, not to hostility, but to *rapprochement* to the Church of England, by the adoption of our names, ideas, and practices. Reunion was to make ‘the Methodist Church of England;’ Methodist Bodies were to be the Churches, as their buildings were to be called also. Instead of ‘Schism is our glory,’ it was, ‘Well, there *must* be schism.’ If their Catholicity was limited, still ‘Catholic’ was a title claimed as honourable. Sect and Denomination were held untrue insults, though in dictionary use ‘sect’ means ‘the following of an individual teacher,’ and ‘denomination’ a ‘body called by a special name,’ as Wesleyans followed Wesley, and called themselves Methodists. How entirely they condemn that original idea they show more and more fiercely, by hurling the titles sectarian and denominational at the Church of England, which has never satisfied the dictionary definitions. These changes are all to Church principles. Without recalling changes Churchwards

in externals of services, buildings, etc., I noticed the discredit thrown on the Three Years' Circuit system, constructed to avoid our faults, but found to have greater of its own; the assault on the Central Conference government as hierarchical, the question, Who would not prefer a Bishop to a Committee? the dedication of women workers, the desire for pastoral visiting—all changes no less Churchward than the Congregationalist lament that, unless Congregationalism found some Union, it was doomed, and (as is said in *The Times* to-day) 'if it [Congregationalism] remains as at present, it will play but a poor part in the future.'

As the distinctive doctrines which caused the other sects to be formed have passed out of the belief of the more intelligent generations, whose teachers decline to know their trust-deeds, so the specialties of the Wesleyan system promise 'to be found wanting,' and their division begins to justify itself by some new assumption of superior spirituality resting upon their own assertion, or more simply on the fact of their existence and choosing to exist. Well! Of course, that goes back to the old central question, Are they Bible Christians, and do they find New Testament Order schism? If their tenets are so much the same as ours, what is the justification for the evils to religion created by schism?

I find from the reports of the recent meeting that names are regarded as of prime importance, and that a 'National Council of Evangelical Free Churches' is expected to have a very different power from what the same gathering would under its old name. On the other hand, it is a new Separation more than a new Union—a separation out of the old bodies by individual members to form a new combination with which the old bodies repudiate connection. 'The dissidence of Dissent' is said to vanish in it: its preachers cry, 'Down with all divisions!' It claims more emphatically to be Catholic, and poses not as part of the Catholic Church, but as the whole, against the two priesthoods of England and Rome. It claims the last unclaimed distinctive mark of the Church of England, to be Territorial, exclusive, it would seem, even of their own older bodies, against which I read that the ruling spirit of the Council has divided the town of Nottingham into

ninety electioneering districts under his control. But it is, by virtue of all these very points, a new Dissent from Dissent—non-political, it says, but then, it frankly adds, it is so difficult to say what non-political is. It has claimed every Church principle one after another, but in application of them proceeds on what I have called the Trunk Assumption, that Church principles don't regard the Church of England.

The outline of Evangelical doctrine given by the veteran representative of preaching there was, as was to be expected, the outline of Evangelical doctrine taught in our Church. Distinctive Calvinist or Puritan doctrine is not the modern form of Dissent. I looked to see what provision for teaching that outline to young people is presumed by one who desires only secular elementary schools, but I must suppose that it is by 'calling on them to hear sermons'—as, indeed, we are bound, but hardly find sufficient. One point he elicited unintentionally, and that a point which was emphasized very earnestly by more than one speaker, and it is a point of interest. *Their young teachers feel their want of authority.* How can they preach except they be sent? has been a question long asked, and must exercise the minds of humble young men, who would fain have some confirmation of their own vocation other than a call from a congregation, of whose authority and judgment they may feel insecure. I was glad to read a declaration of the President of the English Church Union, who, at any rate, speaks clearly and honestly, that he, and I hope we may take it that his followers, cannot limit the operation of God's grace to the system which we believe the truest representation of Apostolic Church government, though our clergy can feel that from the first no minister of our Church has been without authority.

But if we consider the Congregational theory of the Church, even put ideally, it may seem weak and unsatisfying when translated into concrete form. In its theory every smallest congregation is the visible inspired Church, in which not minister, not deacons, not people, but all together, form the inspired authority for the truth, the witness to which is their agreement, unchecked by any standard of interpretation.

Now, all of us recognise that no Church is infallible, nor is size a guarantee. 'We walk by faith': 'With God all things are possible.' Prophets have been herdsmen; Apostles, fishers; and someone said that Nonconformists wrote the New Testament. But the most illogical enthusiast knows better now than men did in days when men argued that therefore they were Apostles only because unlearned, and that all Nonconformists might write a new Gospel. He knows that it was the unique spirit of Christ that could make fishers Apostles, and that He showed His unique power by doing so, and that no less a power than He justified their revolution, while neither He nor they separated as Dissenters from either the Temple, or those who sat on Moses' seat. Reason says, 'Exceptions must have exceptional witness.' Ordinarily ignorance is not equal to learning, nor few to many, nor unsettlement to settlement.

The difference in this question of Standards of Faith between our Church and Congregationalism is not, as they put it, that 'we are one in the Crown and they one in Christ.' We all trust and hope to be one in Christ, even with those separated here by mistake. But the Invisible Unity may be claimed only as a negation of any visible, and may even be illusory, and claimed by fanatical vanity, if no kind of test or witness is produced. The Non-existent calls itself the Invisible. Translate the theory of Ideal Congregationalism into its concrete practical representation. It is practically this: 'Wherever a minister preaches what his deacons and congregation (however small and ignorant) approve, there is the truth. If they disagree, there is not truth.' And as the root reason for the theory is that no reform should be delayed, the theory means, also, that, if agreement to-morrow contradicts the agreement of to-day, the truth has changed. Is this elasticity or instability?—to be esteemed? or distrusted? Truth is progressive, no doubt, though some branches of knowledge are more subject to changes than others. But that only makes standards more necessary for ordinary thinkers, if they are not to be carried to and fro by every blast of vain doctrine.

Creeds and Articles have been accepted by the Church as the type Standards formed by the best wisdom and learning of

their times collected in their fullest deliberation. They are record references to which, as species to the type of a class in Nature, individual variations round the type doctrine are to be referred to measure if they fall within the definition. Some grades of doctrine are set in Creeds as points of Universal Faith, some in Articles as points raised on more particular controversies of temporary divisions not belonging to the Conciliar Age. In Creeds stand the essential (or universal) Elements of Christianity, presumably accepted by Evangelical Congresses which excluded Unitarians. It is a chief practical question at this time why Evangelical Free Churches object to the Creed being taught to their children in the schools. Articles represent conclusions on topics interpreted differently by different Churches on the human relations of religion. Details or accounts of these differences are not my present concern. Few people would regard the Articles as school topics, but they are the basis of our Church's doctrine and Church system. We may some of us have thought their questions settled into agreement, and their existence no longer needed, and then comes up suddenly as a most vital controversy the most scholastic and technical subject of all, *Grace de congruo* and *Grace ex opere operato*. The dead discussions live to save at least what has been done on them. We may regret the age of Article-making, and say they have made our divisions. But it was the divisions which made them, not they the divisions, of which they formulated the opinions for explanation and justification, and ready also for discussion. Our own Articles were answers to those of Trent, and stand ready to be the basis of discussion whenever Reunion with Rome is attempted. When the more urgent and still less hopeful reunion with Nonconformists is attempted (as I rejoice to see sanguine people 'try, try, try again') no formularies now are ready for the Free Churches' brief, no Concordat, no Catechism, no Confession, no Trust deeds, no Creed. 'Irreconcilable differences' from us are reported, but no particular ones.

If Ideal Congregationalism really means that every little chapel has its special revelation direct to it, union among themselves or with anyone else is against its very theory—as undesired as inconceivable. It gives a new meaning to Free

and Undenominational. The individual becomes the Church; and every magazine flash, a new Gospel. Can it be wondered at that earnest and devout young men, who shrink from claiming supernatural guidance for their every word, long for some less floating position, some kind of base of operations, some standard to corroborate their interpretations, and some authority besides their own? At any rate, this feeling was emphasized earnestly by speeches at the Free Churches' Conference. Do not suppose me to forget the text, on misapplication of which the theory seems founded, 'Where two or three are gathered together in My name, there am I in the midst of them.'* In the humblest family home of prayer in Jesu's Name, we trust His Presence to be there to love, and hear, and bless. But it is a wide presumption to infer that therefore every kind or degree of spiritual gift is promised equally to all, nor does that Presence therefore belong particularly to small assemblies. The same Spirit has diversities of gifts, and the ordinary law of God's providence is to bless with increase and development each seed with its own body, each capacity and preparation with the fulness proper to it. All parts of the body may be of equal need and have equal honour, but their services are different; man's nature will be in every atom of him, but the function of the eye will not be done by other members. Time, and learning, and wisdom, and consent are not gifts proper to every smallest religious meeting, nor can the text be thought to dispense with them. Christ and His Apostles were a small body, but every small body is not Christ and His Apostles.

I do not claim that our Church, or any other Church, has promise of infallibility, or can sanely assert itself possessor of all truth, or perfect in all system. All alike rest upon the Holy Spirit's blessing upon the best human preparation and capacity. Past faults of error or of circumstance mutilate all human capacities for perfect fruits. We ought ever to be real in seeking the Holy Spirit's guidance on our counsels, and would fain be able to say, 'It seemed good to the Holy Ghost and to us,'† as the Apostles said, and as S. Augustine

* S. Matthew xviii. 20.

† The Acts xv. 28.

copied them by saying at Carthage. But solemn self-assertion does not make facts; and truth is its evidence, not its truth's. Our own and our forefathers' infirmities and the deep mysteries of truth make us unable to do more than try to get the best among imperfect criteria of truth, not to claim certainty nor enforce agreement. No more can Greek, or Roman, or Protestant. But for all that, we may compare our methods humanly with others, and feel we have the best.

Rome, since the Vatican Council,* has in the Pope a new and (as I read Roman writers) a practical mouthpiece for new doctrines. It is not long since they took this in place of Councils Œcumenical and Provincial, which still are our appeal, and that of Greek Churches, as they were in the early ages. To assign to the Pope that ultimate power to determine officially, which is called Infallibility, but is no more than ultimate decisions of our judges in its finality, is called a supreme gain, said to leave us and others at infinite disadvantage. What does it do? Roman theologians say that Transubstantiation, as declared at Trent,† is not held by them, but some aspect of a Real Presence which, I read, would be expressed in the view of so orthodox an Anglican as the Bishop of Salisbury.‡ Cannot the Pope say so? No doctrine could be more reasonable for a Church to change. It was a most ingenious adaptation of the natural philosophy of the Schoolmen. This philosophy was wrong, philosophers say now. Was that the Church's fault? Whom would it discredit to abandon expressly the philosopher's error? Can the Pope do it?

The truth exaggerated by the Congregationalist theory is that reform should not be delayed. Their collection of judgment is not adequate for new doctrines. Their defect is that their changes have no effect beyond their individual chapels, no criticism beyond their own congregation, and no weight beyond individual opinion. It is interesting to find the striking modern writer on the Russian Church, Khomiakoff, quote with enthusiasm the pronouncement of the Greek Bishops' answer to the Pope's Encyclical, 'The unvarying constancy and the unerring truth of Christian dogma does not depend on any

* A.D. 1869-1870.

† A.D. 1545-1563.

‡ John Wordsworth, D.D.

Hierarchical Order; it is guarded by the totality, by the whole *people* of the Church, which is the Body of Christ.* But yet the reply quoted is itself evidence that the expression of that guardianship was uttered by what he could call almost an Œcumenical Council of the Eastern Church, the Bishops. But I will not detain you on this more distant interest.

Take our own Church. Its documents were drawn by the Spirituality determined at the Reformation to be adequate, in our Church Convocations, and accepted by the King and Parliament. Free Churches love to gird at this joint authority. How do Free Churches differ? Wesleyans may still have a clerical government. Does that make their people more self-governed? Or are fifty-three particular sermons of a single clergyman of the Church of England a more self-originated standard of dogma than our documents? The Congregationalist theory makes minister, deacons, and people the Church. Their units are but microcosms of National Churches, but how do their elements of Church authority differ from ours—clergy, Sovereign, and people? Does the scale of size change the principle?

I asked once, but have never been told, Why is a Free Church free? I thought the name had disappeared, but now I must ask again what the name means. From what is it free? in what is it free? to whom is it free? Is it free to everyone to enter, or only to those tried and admitted? If free to all, where is its Puritan *raison d'être*? If only to those elected, how is it free? Is there not exclusion and power to exclude in deacons or conferences with coercion beyond Parliament or Bishops? For those admitted is there law and discipline, and who makes them, and who executes them? Every member or constituted authority? Is there freedom of teaching, or is that ruled by deacons, or by success, more severely than our clergy under the mild, distant discipline of Bishops? Does it mean only free-thinking, with no guide or standard? Who is it that is free? 'Free and open' Free Churches they are not, in pew, or place, or payment. What are they free from? Do they say, 'From the State'? Well, that is an abstraction and

* See 'Russia and the English Church' (ed. by W. J. Birkbeck), p. 94. London, 1895.

only words, and may mean nothing. Do they mean Parliament? or King? or People? Are clergy really everything to them? Do they call the clergy the Church? I read that Congregationalism is High Church. But I have never known that any but Wesleyan ministers have rule more than Episcopal. But talk of Parliament—who made their title-deeds? who made their doctrines? who established them? Parliament said that five-and-twenty years was the extreme limit for Dissenting doctrines to claim to live. After that time, supplant them, anyone—by Act of Parliament. It was thought truism. It must, I think, sometimes seem rather strange to persons who do not think that Churches can reform themselves and be the same. But is, then, Parliament so dreadful to Free Churches? May it not establish Nonconformist education? and Nonconformist marriages and burials? and generally give its secular aid to any Nonconformist spiritual aims? Is their agitation for their Church principle non-political and outside Parliament? ‘A Free Church in a free State’ means a State subject to Nonconformist rule.

But I was going to speak about our Articles. People gird at them as too comprehensive. I have not time now to examine instances. My point is now that that is a real virtue. If any Articles can make Reunion, they must be comprehensive. If our Articles are to be National, they must not be narrower than the Bible. They might well ignore all subjects outside that, seeing our Church requires no doctrine to be taught as necessary for man’s salvation which cannot be proved by Scripture. But if they deal with subjects not so proved, they will be wisely open, and admit that they are subjects not so proved. Such subject should not be tied to time or theory or party. Trent is precise, no doubt, but does that make it more permanent or true? Trent has more Articles which Rome would modify, if not recall, than we have in our thirty-nine. Which of our Articles would our whole Church consent to alter? Truly it marks great wisdom, in such a time and in such circumstances as made the Reformation, that Church leaders constructed such a set, so free from Cursing, which deforms the more Protestant Confessions,

so broad and yet so careful as to stand both then and now, and to be national. At times their meaning may be strained on one side or the other; but the strain has its limits, and, if these limits are wide, they are not wider than befit such mysteries.

What is their office? They are an outline of authority for students, far more reasonably presented as their guides, than the mere personal courses of instruction which take their place in Nonconformist colleges. They are Churchmen's standard of authority against individual teachers' narrowness on either side. They are an embodiment of the principle of comprehensiveness as a true Church idea, more true to knowledge and spirit than Rome or Geneva. They are a settled stage of record and deliberation against the principle of nebulousness prescribed by Nonconformist theories of daily freedom to make new individual Gospels. They stand between authority and freedom, settlement and change; a record of the best interpretations attained, all open to be changed on better knowledge, but nothing to be changed on less authority. That is our Church's *Via Media*. The hardest platform for untrained thinkers, but for trained thinkers the truest. I do not doubt that years of congresses and conferences have trained a generation to face, with temper better qualified for debating such controversies, some reconsiderations of judgments formulated three centuries ago. I can imagine Convocation now ready to entertain them. Three centuries have cleared the atmosphere. Condemned abuses have become impossible. Mistaken prejudices have been enlightened. Many half-truths have been combined in wholes. Progress towards unity has been prepared.

As our Church reformed herself upon conviction from medieval accretions upon primitive doctrine and system, so it would be part of her Church principle to reform again anything shown to be unprimitive or untrue, and to revive anything shown primitive or true, only not as concession, but on conviction. Reunion in England must be in her by principles, not by concessions. Religious people don't want undenominationalism. 'Let her stand on her principles.' While she can say, with unbroken continuity of her Ministry, 'No one in the

Church of England has appointed himself, but her Bishops and clergy from the first days of Christianity have been duly sent in Apostolic Order,' she stands on principle in Order. While she holds fast the ancient Creeds as the primitive exposition of the mind of Christ set forth by His Apostles, she stands on principle in Faith. While she retains ancient Liturgies, with which her Prayer Books enshrine prayer and praise in utterances which united Churches East and West at the first, she stands on principle in Worship. And when Free Churches make new order, new faith, new worship, she may ask with confidence those who call her sacerdotal, where she commits to her priests, subject to ancient Order, Creed, and Liturgy, any such high-flown Commission as is assumed for themselves by ministers no more personally capable, who are set, with no standards of faith or devotion, to be teachers of their own doctrines and offerers of their own prayers for the congregation.

In all this I have, I hope, not said a word to disparage the piety of spiritual Dissenters, nor the ability of individual leaders. I have said nothing against their fullest liberty of conscience and activity. There is much Christian work in which the differences of system and doctrine are unconcerned, and Christian philanthropy ought to unite, naturally, with no irrelevant suspiciousness. No sect has not had its reason, not done needed work, not asserted some truth. There are, and have been, honoured names of great light in spirit, thought, and action which have been examples to all people. Differences of opinion do not cloud respect. But when political Dissent abandons spiritual specialities to think only of destroying such a spiritual instrument as the Church of England, we are entitled to ask what Dissenters have to put in its place, and what makes Dissenters 'the people.'

We are, however, concerned with our own part most—to do our own work to its best, and make the Church felt to be really of value to our people. Make the Church Worship inspiring, Church Teaching instructive, Church Pastorate loving. The preparedness of the souls for whom teaching and worship are provided must be regarded, or the best will fail of fruit.

The full teaching of the Prayer Book's course of Bible doctrine, the full worship of our Prayer Book, with full regard to our Prayer Book rules, is what our people claim; and chiefly its spirit, the spirit of reality, which infects English hearts, which are vexed and distracted by what they feel to be trivial show; while they value the help of deep reverence, changing Church services from dreary, selfish slovenliness to beauty, self-denial, and solemnity. God's Magnet is a man of God electrified by the Spirit of God in sincerity and truth. Do we desire union? 'I, if I be lifted up, will draw all men unto Me.'* '*Sursum corda!*' Look there for the Divine Magnet. Do we yearn for the fruit of our labours? 'Seek ye first the kingdom of God, and His righteousness.'† In that day 'the kingdoms of this world' shall 'become the kingdoms of our Lord and of His Christ.'‡

PART VI.—CHURCH AND FINANCE

DELIVERED IN THE CHURCH OF S. OSWALD, ASHBURNE,
MAY 15, 1896.

In this Charge the Bishop began by quoting the statistical returns concerning the material provision for the Diocese of buildings, lay readers, and clergy; the contributions for missions, religious societies, for the maintenance of Church fabrics and services, and for the stipends of lay workers and the clergy. After commenting on these figures he continued:

ENDOWMENTS

I don't know that there is much in that arithmetic; but it is matter for reflection, with such arithmetic before us, how it is that there are any clergy paid—as one-fourth at any rate are paid—less, as a business man lately expressed it, than a third-rate office clerk. So long as England wishes, as I hope she always will wish, to have a married clergy, and men worthy to hold the office; and their incomes are stationary, except from fall of values, and do not rise with years of service, as their obligations do, I don't think that they are overpaid. Do not mistake me to blame anyone. I know no one to blame. If the endowment might be larger, it is yet an endowment, such as only our parishes have and our parishes

* S. John xii. 32. † S. Matthew vi. 33. ‡ Revelation xi. 15.

must be grateful for. Its nature as an endowment creates some of the difficulties about enlarging it. A feeling rises that an endowed place is provided, and it must be presumed properly to be provided. Private Patronage is a large part, not allowed to expect any but the patron to increase it, because it seems to be a present to the patron, as it certainly may be. Meanwhile, it may be observed that the parish has the advantage of the increase, if it only has its intended result, either of getting a better man, or making a man's life and work happier. If the patron did sell it, and make profit out of someone else, still, that does not take away the gain from the parish. If private money will not be readily given to increase a private living, public money might reasonably consider the parish, and only aim at making some wise conditions. For private patrons of the normal character—holders of estates to which livings are attached—there is no gain except what is desired, viz., better treatment of a better man. Exceptional traffickers rarely traffic in unattractive livings. They may well be ruled out of any measure likely to be practical, and then the difficulty about private patronage be disregarded. Small endowments are not less public loss because they are in private patronage.

I have spoken of this unhappily old subject once again, because once again there is revived the idea of a central and general Fund for improving the position of the poorer clergy. Last time it was the Bishops who prepared a scheme of augmentation, that was accepted by the Southern Convocation, but, not being adopted by the Northern, was disabled for being a National scheme; and, as it was calculated on that basis, it fell into abeyance. This time it is the laymen who project it. The Bishops' part is only to rejoice and be glad to know their good spirit, to promote their action in whatever way is desired by them, and when the time of development comes, to support it with all their power. It is the part of the lay body of the Church, and the lay leaders only can organize and carry it out. I shall not venture at this time to forecast the precise forms in which the close of the nineteenth century will seek to supplement the endowments given mainly in the old time, before the medieval influence of the Papal connec-

tion took what it could from 'the English milch cow,' but added nothing to the Church resources. History may tell of monasteries and of schools and colleges developed by opposite tendencies in the three centuries of Roman influence. But when men talk of our Church Endowments as having been given for Roman Catholics, history replies that Pre-Reformation Endowments belong to the days before the Conquest, when Church system and doctrines were the same as now, and that the Papal days only diverted existing income from parishes to other establishments, turned livings into curacies, or vicariates in true sense, and despoiled the parish clergy as far as possible. The Statute of Mortmain was desired not long after the Fourth Lateran Council and John's submission, the movement for that statute beginning immediately.

The increase of our endowments does not belong to the unsettled centuries which alone have any claim to be called Roman in England, and during which was going on from first to last a growing struggle of the country in resistance to foreign central extortion and encroachment. The lay struggle left alone for three centuries clergy appeals to Rome, if they did not affect the State; but it stopped aggrandizement of Church property very soon. As with more spiritual rule, the abuses of privileges were fatal to reasonable expansion by gifts. Religious houses not only freed their own lands from State service, but by juggling tenures freed lay estates from it too, in degree increasing enough to make the device alarming. Before, however, that abuse was invented, after the Norman system the lords bestowed their churches on monasteries so extensively that rectories became vicarages in more than half the parishes. That Cathedrals like Lichfield and Lincoln, and Religious houses like Tutbury, Beauchief, Lenton, and Thurgarton, which drew the rectories of this county especially to them, were establishments that strengthened and gave size to Church methods and influence, I do not doubt. I believe any great movement which prevails widely is sure to have reason. They formed not only material strongholds of value in troublous times, but seats of learning and council and concentration of a size suited to Norman compared with Saxon civilization.

But when, in turn of time, reason removed the monasteries, the churches' revenues transferred to them were mostly lost. Had parishes received back under Henry VIII. all the property so transferred from them in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, such restoration of Church property to its condition under William I. would have been as true a reform back to the *Ecclesia Anglicana* as were the spiritual reforms. So far was the Roman interlude from being the time of parish endowments. In this county we can easily read this in the history of 'The Churches of Derbyshire,' so far as it can be traced. You can verify in their history how large a proportion existed before Domesday Book, how much was transferred to Houses, etc., before Henry III., and how little addition to parish property was made afterwards. The population of the country had no growth before this century compared with its enormous present rate of increase. Emigration was for adventure, or religion, by cadets of gentry, not by working classes. Church Extension was not so urgent. It is this century that has developed most of the additional parishes since the thirteenth century, 5,000 added to 8,000—added just as we see going on each year for populations grown this century. These new 5,000 parishes were certainly never added for Romans in this century; but not a bit more were the old Saxon 8,000, endowed with tithes and land before specific Roman doctrines were current. A Saxon Homily upon the Eucharist might be preached by us to-day. I very nearly did so on Easter Day. The specific Roman medieval doctrines and customs, which were the subjects of our Reformation, were formulated at the Fourth Lateran Council in A.D. 1215, in our King John's reign, at the time when he was driven by his quarrels with barons and people to throw himself into the Pope's hands. You will not find record after that of endowments, except for a few chantries, besides the gifts to monasteries of which I have spoken.

Those monasteries were then the stage which in our days the largest missionary ideas aim at developing in a country like India, in colleges and clergy stations, to be centres of higher teaching that may hold their own with the other forces against them. They were an advanced stage of

organized preaching as well as teaching; but they were specially foreign: Norman, Roman; and they became the Papal fortresses throughout the country. The relations between the monks and parish clergy are recorded in carvings of quaint humour here and there. The contrast of the monks and parsons in popular esteem is painted by Chaucer, whose Parson's Tale rises to a high character, very marked by the side of the others. I am now only concerned with it as witness to the two sets of persons being apart in system from each other, and not identical in interest or property. At the Reformation the monasteries, which were the Pope's army, were removed, the Bishops and parsons remained, the same people with the same Sees and parishes as before; but though they were the same Church of England that had been before the Conquest, they emerged from the semi-Papal interval shorn of the rectorial property absorbed by monasteries, and never restored to the Church on their dissolution. The Papal interval was no age of Church endowment in England, but of Church impoverishment. It was not only in lands that this took place.

TITHES.

The Tithes, which had apparently been introduced in the very early English Church as a general Christian Institution, had been recognised as such without question by the Saxon Kings and Councils, and enforced like other Church institutions. For some time it was a personal duty, but the lord might pay his tithes to whatever representative of the Church he chose—maybe to the Bishop, maybe to some particular church or object. The tithe became a property detached from the land itself, that could be appropriated to Church purposes anywhere. So estates were transferred without the tithe's value being counted in the purchase, and from that time tithes have been excluded from reckoning in purchases and leases, and are truly said to be paid neither by owner or tenant of the lands on which they are charged, the tithe system and its methods being taken into account in every such transaction. In no long time the liberty of paying the tithe to what church a lord liked was restrained by an established rule that everyone should pay his tithe to his own

church. That marked a further stage in the development of organization for completing the network of church provision over the country ; as in Colonies the stage in which a district is mapped into parishes succeeds to that of diocesan provision for it piecemeal. Still, the churches were in patrons' hands, who could, and were led to, bestow them on the Religious Houses, and in that way the tithes as well as lands passed to the Houses, subject to the duty of paying vicars. One-fourth of the tithes are reckoned to have passed in this way from the parishes of England. Even in that respect alone, the church provision for the small old Saxon population was so much more than for our multiplied millions.

But that is an old story, only of interest in regard to Church history, and as answer to fictions about our endowments' origin, amount, and appropriation. We know unhappily too well that the present distress is due to more recent diminutions. The well-intended standard for Tithe Commutation fixed by the price of cereals has, owing to unnatural conditions of trade, fallen now nearly one-third in value ; and yet there are parts of the country, where the remainder has fallen still so much more in proportion, as to cause murmurings, that the tithe in its settled commutation is so much out of proportion that the land must go out of cultivation, unless even the reduced tithe be revalued for further reduction. It is a consequence of this and of the other recent Tithe Legislation that the inequitable system of rating tithes is refused consideration in the present Rating Bill. It is a money business dealt with by the House of Commons, and not in the hands of Bishops. Clergy rating has seemed unfair, and I hope that, in the general revision of country rates promised, the undertaking given by the President of the Local Government Board to consider the tithe-owners' representations will be redeemed. I fear the present Bill will not reform the hardship of tithe being treated differently from other property rated, after deductions made, on its saleable value. Of course, the clergy have the same advantage as others on land. The present fall of tithes is, of course, evenly spread over the country, except so far as circumstances make payment more precarious, and more has to be given back in some parts than

others. But our two counties exemplify in glebe values the local differences in the fall of rents of land. In Nottinghamshire ten parishes have fallen more than £300 a year, five others more than £200, thirty-two more than £100, and thirty only little less than £100; in Derbyshire two more than £300, two more than £200, sixteen more than £100, and eleven nearly £100. In some livings with small incomes smaller falls are even more disastrous than some of the largest named.

CLERICAL INCOMES.

It was often said last year that Disendowment by an Act would soon be anticipated by fact; but when people talk so, it may not occur to them to compare the fate of ministers supported by the Voluntary system, whose numbers in the country parts of the Diocese appear to have been reduced one-fourth in the late hard time in mining and agriculture. I do not know that it was fortunate for the clergy, any more than it has been for industries, that a time of special expansion preceded the present depression, and raised the standard of living, and more particularly of parsonages, to a scale quite different from what I remember, and from what the old vicarages, now disused as such, exemplify, as the standard within living people's memory. Parsonages of a new size were built. It was even thought a special policy to build large houses on small livings, to induce men with large means to take charge of parishes with no income. The policy had a temporary success in that space of prosperity, which made it adopted where it was impracticable. But, apart from this policy, men had grown up in homes of enlarged notions of size and number of rooms, etc., and their wives' relations would not let them descend to cottages, and houses were built which a poorer generation is now too often obliged to be allowed to let. So it resulted that in country parishes, as in industrial towns, the wave of wealth doubled in reality as well as in impression the burden of the following depression. It is a change now that, when a parsonage is planned of a size that seems disproportioned, the excess is due to insistence on a Parish Room. But it is not always easy to prevent patron and parson together from enlarging houses for the special needs of a

particular nursery; and when a good man is likely to be lost, it is forgotten that houses ought to be proportioned to the living as a permanency, not to a particular generation, which only bequeaths a burden and often a debt.

It is evident even from outside facts that the clergy live many of them on means of their own, and bring more money to Church service than they take from it. This is not an unmixed gain to the Church. What a rich man does reasonably is expected of a poor man, or, to put it another way, one parish does not see its duty to provide what it sees provided personally in another. It is, further, a natural result that such schemes for improving Clergy Incomes as have occasioned my remarks to-day are not favoured by richer men who have given lavishly to their parishes, and who think this ignored, and that they are represented as indigent when they have been not only independent but munificent. Besides, their evident competence is used as argument that it is quite needless to subsidize the clergy when such examples of independence can be presented as representing the whole body. Whether good mixed or unmixed, however, it is clear that few clergy do not live largely on their own means; that few could do what their parish requires of them without private means; and that it is the parishioners who, more than patrons or Bishops, entreat that private means be regarded even more than a good wife in an appointment. This is severely censured, I know, and I have known wise men say that a good man will not lack money. There are men who would win anything out of anybody. But that is very much not the gift of all good men. Stubborn facts shake my faith perhaps too much, but I tremble when I ask a good man without any means to take such posts as I have to offer. Behind parish expectations I see repairs and dilapidations, and sometimes matrimony not endowed. Still, I recognise that it is most true that zealous work, known to be done without income or thought of income, does in time draw out loyal offerings as for worthy labours. And I know, too, that good men are more ready than I like to be responsible for to 'venture in faith,' and set happiness on work and office regardless of money. These sentiments environ all proposals made to improve the value of livings.

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Here the Bishop recounted the augmentations made by private individuals and by Diocesan societies. He proceeded :

I do not understand why people generally are so much more willing to give for a material work than for the living Agent. But so it is. The money spent on the furniture alone of our churches was more than on the increase of stipends ; that spent on church buildings four times as much. The difference seems to be that the clergy work and beg for the churches, not for themselves. But the comparison shows that if the men were put in the place of the fabrics for the next four years, now that the buildings are mostly done, the Visitor in 1900 might report from his Visitation Returns that there was no living under £200. But, then, the clergy won't undertake that. So we return to our starting-point, that we must hail the effort now projected by the laity for improving the income of the clergy. The Bishops are sure to follow so good a lead. And, as I said at first, if the million in our counties were to give 1½d. a week, we should be rich beyond our needs. Or put it in another way : If the 700,000 Churchmen were to contribute what they would have to pay to a chapel or to the Church if disendowed, the full account would be made up.

The ridiculous thing is that, whatever now is given in augmentation by the Ecclesiastical Commissioners or Queen Anne's Bounty Board, is all money derived, not from laymen, but from Church money. The Ecclesiastical Commissioners distribute estates belonging to Bishops and Chapters and some other, chiefly mineral, properties ; but all of it merely old Church property redistributed by them, not new property added. Queen Anne's Bounty is simply from payments from Bishops and clergy, being what the Pope, in his interlude of power, caused Sees and parishes to pay as tenths and first-fruits to him when patronage came to be under his sanction. Kings took possession of the money instead of remitting it, when it ceased to be the contribution towards the Church centre, till Queen Anne gave it up for its present Church uses. It does good service to many clergy in want of loans not otherwise attainable by them. But it is simply the body of clergy contributing out of their depression to a common loan fund for special necessities. Those who use it become thereby them-

selves contributors also. There is fairness in this, as well as some check on needless recourse to it. I cannot dissent from the judgment of the very painstaking Bounty Board as to the continuance of the terms on which such large past engagements have been made to cover a long period. But, for all that, it is somewhat ridiculous that the public funds existing to aid an impoverished clergy, in days when the general wealth of the country has reached an unprecedented height, should be derived from payments by the impoverished clergy or redistribution of Church estates.

PRESENT-DAY NEEDS.

The Voluntary System of Free Gifts on which our Endowments were built up in the early centuries of our English Church is still the system on which provision has to be made for the present multitudinous growth of population. Until some reunion of Religious bodies takes place under some new power of electrical attraction and light, I see no great prospects from permissive powers to Companies, nor of the Christian principle of tithes being extended, in the spirit of Henry VIII.'s Bill for Tything London, to houses, mines, and industries, true as it is that they create the populations. 'Buy two sickles, my son, and we will reap the field ourselves,' was the farmer's word in the fable, which the old bird took as meaning business and notice to quit. Our Endowments have all been from Church laymen's voluntary gifts. We hope now for more. When I last calculated, I made out that to raise all the livings in the Diocese to £200 a year would take £300,000; to raise those in public patronage only, £100,000.

If I may put my thoughts before you, though I may be in a minority of one, I should state the order of our Church needs to be provided by fresh funds to be (1) Pensions; (2) Augmentation of the small Benefices; (3) Emergencies, including special Dilapidations; (4) Rehabilitation of some larger Benefices; (5) Curates; (6) New Parishes.

First: I hold that every service is weak which has no adequate provision for pensions, and that the most foolish Church selfishness was that which spared pockets, when more work was wanted, by sacrificing posts of honourable retire-

ment to pay for workers. Work ought to be paid. Retirement needs provision. Retirements are essential for any service. This is recognised by the present Benefices Bill. But, as I have said elsewhere, the retirements desired in that Bill cannot be insisted on—I speak as a Bishop—unless parish, Diocese, or some Common Fund or Society, in cases of livings which cannot pay for two clergy, provide the stipend for curate or for pension of vicar. A Diocesan Pension Fund of £2,000 a year would be the best Benefices Bill.

Second: I have before pointed out the double value of the Church method of augmenting stipends by Easter or other offerings. While endowments give all proper independence to clergy, Easter Offerings give the laity true opportunities and a power of recognition. They are by their elastic freedom specially adapted for meeting any exceptional circumstances. They contain also the principle laid down for University professors, that it is wise to let them be partly paid by fee.

Nevertheless, the augmentation of the small benefices has the important value of affecting the appointments. There are villages where poor men may be even more at home and more useful. There are men who would not earn more in any calling than our village stipends. There may be places where cottage home and income may direct choice best. But, taking places generally, the possible range of choice for good appointments is what is most affected by the amount of regular income. And that is the point of chief importance to the parish. And the second is that when it has got a good man he should be free for his spiritual work. The difficulty of augmenting poor benefices upon the prudent methods of our Diocesan Societies, as well as the London Boards, is that the most needy parishes are the least able to get advantage from them. The originating start of £200 or even £100 is a bar to their proceeding. If the new General Fund proceeds on the same reasonable principle, and becomes a further Bounty Board, it will have no special character. Can it look to providing £2,000 for a small living?

Third: A Bishop would welcome an Emergency Fund, not only because he is now the resource for it, but because the margin of even fair livings can provide for no special calls,

which fall on the most deserving and most prudent clergy, and can cripple them for years, by accidents which clergy can neither compound nor repudiate like laymen. If a Central Benefice Augmentation Fund could provide for permanent improvement of small benefices, it would enable the Diocesan Funds for that purpose to be changed into Funds for Pensions and Emergencies, which would appeal more widely and meet many 'felt needs.'

Fourth : To speak of rehabilitating larger livings may seem a counsel of impossible perfection. But a living need not be very large to be outside the limits of any assistance from the Ecclesiastical Commissioners or Bounty Board. There are well-known examples that larger livings under conscientious vicars may, in the interest of the Church, claim rehabilitation to be strong centres of their districts and places for leaders, even more urgently than many small parishes to be made livings.

Fifth : The need of curates does not require enforcing. It has been the one object regarded in this generation, and has absorbed the subsidies of our own Church Extension Society, and been largely provided by the Ecclesiastical Commissioners and the Additional Curates' Society. Curates have never been so well paid, nor incumbents so largely assisted to provide them. Curates are, too, the first call on parishes.

Sixth : The division of parishes to make new ones is less likely than any of my other suggested needs to appeal to you in this quiet district, where it is more in people's minds to unite small parishes than to divide large ones. I know, however, so well myself the vexations of two linked villages—neither satisfied with its services or attention and in continual ripeness for revolt—that I sympathize with the late Rural Dean, and hesitate to endorse the policy advocated at headquarters of wedding parishes, which contiguity often makes only more incompatible. Disendowment would no doubt link parishes in chains of sixes and sevens, like Methodist preachers' circuits, or unsettled Colonial districts, or our own churches in the days of monastic centres and galloping curates. The memories of such days, when the Church is said to have left the country heathen, where now provision has

covered it with at least the appliances for religion, may well prevent disendowment from approving itself to those who recall how little the meeting-houses could rise to supply, with all their zeal. What, then, do I conclude? That we shall not be able to dispense with our present organizations, but that if a new and strong Central Endowment Fund shall be made able to undertake the augmentation of livings to £200, or never less than £150, however small, our Diocesan Society may return to its original character, and be something more than a Curates' Society for certain parishes, and strengthen the weak points of our parochial finance system by providing for pensions and emergencies, and by aiding to form new parishes when area or population requires. At the same time, that the Voluntary system, which contains in it such valuable elements of life for parson and people, should not be regarded as exhausted by our old forefathers, but should be the living source to supplement those old voluntary endowments with offerings, to make both clergy staff and clergy incomes adequate for their honourable service.

I have spoken elsewhere of what I consider the natural parish relations which would be likely to produce results of this nature. I shall only say a word now in conclusion to excuse myself to my brethren, who dislike discussion of Clergy Incomes. I do not shrink myself from the discussion. It is true that repeated reference to clergy incomes and the many special helps devised for them present them as different from other professions not so considered. But, then, the other professions do differ, in that, *quisque faber fortunæ suæ*, it rests with each man to succeed, and men are expected to look after that. It is not so with the clergy, who are, however, reasonably reckoned to stand by the other professions, heads by heads, other orders by other orders. The ancient Sees had estates from princely gifts in old time. The standard formed by modern judgment is set by that of judges, the secular office most like theirs. The surplus of the Sees' estates has furnished the modern parishes, yet so that, as being the Sees' surplus, it should insure their fixed standard being maintained. This new See is from gifts given for the purpose by

people who, I presume, thought it worth while, but who, at any rate, gave them for it. I have been quite willing to divide it to make two Sees.

But looking, as secular critics do, at the Church 'as a profession,' as they say, I see no excess, if its Heads have not quite as much as judges, though far behind great doctors, and in no comparison with merchants. Other professional men may ask how clergy incomes generally stand proportioned to what satisfies them. The subject is irksome always, I admit. It is most properly one to be taken in hand by those who have been reviving it, the laymen, to whose action it is mainly due that I have put together my thoughts about it. Their purpose is not to subsidize clergy, but to provide fitly for the posts of the Church's service in her parishes. I hope, with sincere recognition, that they will succeed, not for our own sakes, but for the Church and its work for the country. There are mistakes, and even fictions, about these questions which are constantly needing to be cleared away. Some I have noticed to-day. But my words to-day form but one of seven parts of my Charge, and it has been an ill turn to have only this least interesting topic from me. It makes it the more fitting that I should repeat here what other topics have suggested elsewhere. '*Sursum corda!*' Lift up your hearts unto the Lord, as it is meet and right for us to do. 'The kingdom of God is not meat and drink; but righteousness, and peace, and joy in the Holy Ghost.*' For us, of all men, it is our true call to seek first the kingdom of God and His righteousness, and to trust that all other things that are needful for us will be added thereto.

PART VII.—CHURCH ORGANIZATION

DELIVERED IN THE CHURCH OF ALL SAINTS, BAKEWELL, MAY 16, 1896.

CHURCHWARDENS.

A Visitation calls two great bodies to assemble. I have spoken a good deal about one, the clergy, and I shall begin to-day by speaking not very much about the churchwardens. They are called as the selected representatives of the great

* Romans xiv. 17.

Lay Body, bearing the responsibility of Church leadership attached to both Orders, to be examples of the flock of Christ. Some change has taken place in their official position by the severance of civil and ecclesiastical affairs in parishes by the Local Government Act,* which terminates their *ex-officio* place as Overseers, and by consequence their part in managing certain non-ecclesiastical charities, of which the overseers were *ex-officio* trustees. I find, as is only natural, that parishes do elect them to be trustees, and in these cases the change is only in appointment. If not so elected, I am inclined to congratulate them on their release from the invidious office of selecting recipients, of whom the proverb says, Nine enemies for one friend. That Act has not, so far as my experience goes, produced much change, nor is it easy for a Parish Council to devise improvements acceptable to the ratepayers. But the removal of secular parish business from the churchwardens and vestry may be expected generally, as a matter of sentiment at least, to make the churchwardens and vestry the officers and Council for Church business, beyond the exhibition of the year's accounts, which ought to be audited and presented to the parish. I have elsewhere spoken more fully on what I hope may be the future of Vestries :† that they, or some select vestry from them, should be revived into living, actual, advising Church Committees, to be the legitimate lay voice about Church management. I shall not repeat myself, but I refer to that to-day because I look to the Churchwarden office not being lowered, but magnified, as that of Church officer instead of overseer.

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I am glad to be informed that in three-fourths of the parishes the churchwardens are legally admitted. Questions may easily arise under the recent Acts to give occasion for the churchwardens having fresh special need of legal status for discussing them ; but, apart from such possibilities, there may always rise some critical business, and disputes may always rise on the ordinary business. And, apart from the dignity of the office, even as mere insurance, seeing what

* The Parish Councils Act, 1894.

† See page 104.

advice can be obtained by legal churchwardens from the considerateness of our Diocesan officers, the legal admission ought on all grounds not to be neglected by any churchwarden. A similar question of legal wisdom belongs to faculties and licenses. Churches and Church property are much too serious public Trusts to be left in uncertainty to disputes. A particular generation has no right to deal with a Church of centuries after their own fancy, nor is it safe to leave legal security of property to accident. I know that fees are irksome, like most other payments to other people ; but it ought to be remembered that the fees have been reviewed by the chief Authorities very carefully, and that the correspondence would often in regular business ways be much more costly.

One word more about money, and I have done with it. The Church expenses are, of course, proper to be paid by all, and the poorest have their opportunities in the Church collections. But the temptation to spend on ourselves is great in Church money no less than in private, and Church expenses grow with collections. Church Offerings ought to provide Spiritual needs and Christian charity as the first object of religious offerings. The fitness of things for Church worship claims its part. But I ask if such matters as heating and lighting might not be made a calculated requirement, often provided beforehand by a list of contributors, rather than by taxing or curtailing the occasions of charitable offerings. More than three-quarters of our Church collections have been raised for the parishes themselves. A prudent officer is careful to make both ends meet ; but a living Church must offer to God, and beware of following the example of Ananias by keeping back part. I speak on this presumption that, though all collections are not legally in the churchwardens' direction, but the clergyman's, there is always full account and understanding made about them with the churchwardens, whose provision for Church expenses has occasioned my suggestions. These particular duties come before me in detail at this time from the Returns you have been good enough to make ; but they are but details, and do not make the office or its value. The churchwardens represent the parish and its union with

the parson, and, as Bishop's officers, with the Bishop too. They are the counsellors and supporters of the clergy in all the secular business which is so manifold, and in which their acquaintance with people and circumstances gives their opinion and even their instinctive feeling very real value. In my personal visits to the parishes it is my satisfaction to meet such representatives, and then, as well as in a Visitation like this, I have found them always as prudent as they are kindly in whatever assistance and information their office can afford.

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The Bishop here spoke of the diligent service of the Rural Deans, the Archdeacons and the Suffragan Bishop of Derby, his 'alter ego,' and of the Diocesan School Inspectors.

EDUCATION.

I spoke of our Church schools, and of the good work done in them and for them by our schoolmasters and our Education Boards, of which your Rural Dean is here the hard-worked centre. I cannot doubt that the new Bill will work him harder still, if County Councils are to rule our schools, and wish to rule them, as I doubt not they will, with knowledge and co-operation of existing experts.

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Many here know as well as myself the debt owed to our Diocesan Training College and its heads and staff. They know that it is no exaggeration to speak of it as quite in the front rank now by successful performances. I hope the Day students will be resident enough to catch its spirit as well as its learning. The managers are wise, and will see to that. What we have most to dread for schools is the prospect of undisciplined Day College students being favoured on purpose not to have religious teaching; a new departure very different from the spirit which made a College of such leading merit as Southlands. Secular Education must follow such a system. Our friends who press for that as best must, I suppose, have few children in their Body, and those very amenable—children

of parents who are sure to send them to Sunday-school and worship. It was no doubt not long ago that masses of children had no teaching, secular or Sunday. Does Dr. Parker wish the street arabs, now compelled to come in on week-days, never to hear of God at school? or how will he get them on Sundays? They form the real question. For good Church children of good homes, I frankly say that I don't care for what is called 'full Church teaching,' about deep mysteries of the Church, the Ministry, the Sacraments, being their elementary school lessons. I think that Confirmation classes, preparation for Communion, and catechizing prepared in older Sunday-school classes, are the earliest rational times for such topics, and the older good pupils, who will come on such occasions, the only rational classes for them. But that is another question.

Will Secular schools make street arabs Christians? No more loyal and pious Church workers are there than our army of Sunday-school teachers. It is an interest to give prizes for unfailing attendance for years to a Hall full of Sunday-school scholars. It is more interest to meet a Hall full of Sunday-school teachers, too crowded to form an audience. All that spirit and devotion does not mean only lessons. If catechizing is developed, as I think it must be soon, to be a substantial part of Sunday's parish teaching, it will be essential that the teachers shall all master the set combined subject, and master it upon the lines of the catechizer; so that preparation for Sunday-school teachers, now given by two hundred and eighteen clergy, will be necessary for all. It is not always easy to arrange. Courses used now in seventy cases will probably become common, and I doubt if anyone need be afraid of repeating the course year after year. I admire our Sunday-schools as they are, and sometimes the simplest parts most; but I can hardly think that they could supply the place of regular religious teaching, and I wonder how Secular Day-schools would be supplemented. But I must not linger over this great old interest.

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Here the Bishop gave statistics of spiritual, social and philanthropic agencies at work in the Diocese. He continued :

PARISH SOCIETIES.

I have referred to these spiritual and philanthropic agencies more briefly than their importance deserves, and with less personal recognition than I should wish of the devoted officials. But the use of them is really Parochial, and the real work of them is also parochial. It is in such organizations in parishes, more than in anything else, that the primitive separate independence of each smallest parish, as a little State, though member of a large Federation, is made conspicuous. Each parish has them or has not, as it will ; has its own choice of them, if it has any ; makes its own shape and arrangements, and is its own director. Each differs from its neighbours, by a will of its own, and so the atoms of the larger body have each their peculiar combination of elements, which makes and marks spontaneity. This seems all so natural in its facts, that we often do not observe the special form of vitality contained in this free system contrasted with imposed routine. It is our special English vitality of Local Government, as we get to call it, with its weaknesses, no doubt, but with its own strength and stimulus also. Ideas, usages, organizations, spread in it by example and experience and emulation, not by outside authority. Our Church microcosms, the parishes, feel the same influences of tendency as the greater Churches, to conglomerate into larger units. Rural Deaneries are to them the next stage which Metropolitans were to local Primitive Sees. The social organizations of which I have spoken are what derive most advantage from such conglomerations. Parishes will find the greatest help in them from Ruridecanal secretaries and committees, and their machinery for interchanging helps and services and information. The smaller a place, the more it will benefit by using official services, which can only be provided by wider co-operation.

Still, the root must be in the separate parish life, and it is of that that I wish to speak now. I quite understand that small and scattered populations do not need to be handled in masses, and have not the stimulus of masses, either to the

head or members. Lending libraries at vicarages suit the situation better than Institutes, and a good word spoken in season to man or boy, better than Temperance meetings. Two make a meeting with Christ's presence between. Where the opportunities for such friendliness exist they have not to be made. But even then that is but half, if the first half. It is my feeling that the motive to a pastor for giving time to social organization in small parishes lives in its opportunities. What an amount that means ! Few sayings please me more than Bishop Wilberforce's,* 'We ask God for blessings, and He gives us opportunities.' To get, make, find opportunities is the one aim of enterprising agents. Classes, lectures, meetings, may sound dull ; but if they are not, it soon gets known, and names may be varied. Games, concerts, penny readings, bands, may not sound spiritual, but there may be good spirit in them, as many of you know. But besides their prime truth of being good and pleasant things, they have their opportunities—there is friendship in them. And this friendship makes the second half of their good, if they bring all the people together and make all friends, and gather social enjoyment in the openness of public courtesy. Sociable friendship in the life of a village is one of its chief Christian virtues. You will not suppose me to speak as of new ideas in this : you know your own examples, and these principles are well illustrated.

But I do find two other principles : First, that all Societies for Christian improvement are derogatory to Church principles. Second, that these secondary methods are unspiritual and secular. The first is simply a confusion of ideas. Church societies are Church agencies, and the One Spirit that is in all the Church's diversity of operations is one of manifold gifts for the divers services. But One Spirit in a Body with many members. If good works are done by clergy direct, other agents may not be needed, though much spirit may be lost by want of employment. But if they are not done, it is idle to talk of the Church system being enough, without the use of all the Church system of life in the whole body, which organizes these methods for united action in the fields that call for more labourers. Indeed, the two objections cancel

* Samuel Wilberforce, D.D.

each other. I quite understand good people feeling something incongruous to clerical spirituality in cricket matches and brass bands. They may really be snares to those who enjoy them, and to be real in them a man must be happy in them. But without now discussing their fitness (which I assume for fit men and fit conditions, of course), my point now is, that if they are secular—as they of course are—good secular things are just what a wise Church desires good secular men to take in hand. Both objections imply that the Church only means the clergy. Then, unconsciously, of course, that comes to mean practically, ‘No one must do it but the clergy, and the clergy mustn’t.’ By all means let the clergy get the recreations done rather than do them; take the trouble, and let others do their part and share their credit. Whip up the musicians if you can’t play the trombone, and the eleven though you don’t bowl, and get your chief friend who has barns at his disposal to be the great host to entertain the concert and the match. However, as I began by saying, each parish must have its own methods, and each parson take the line which he feels is suited for him. I do not forget that the pastor’s special work is in his church, his schools, his parish; that spiritual things are his end to which all else must tend; and that a true spirit will not fail in its Church work. Only ‘fishers of men’ must make and use opportunities. And for the secular good things which are not your business, at least don’t be ‘wet blankets,’ don’t be ‘dogs in the manger.’

EARLY CHURCH ORGANIZATION.

In this I have before me the thought of the independence of parishes as members also of larger federations, in rural deaneries, archdeaconries, dioceses, provinces, national Churches, the Catholic or Universal Church. Apostles, and after them Bishops, founded, we know, the early Churches. But Bishops Suffragan, Rural Deans, and Archdeacons have under different names been Church officers from very early times. Abroad, Bishops Suffragan were in every town in Eastern and Southern Churches, and about the country too. In a later stage they gave place to Archpresbyters no longer with Bishops’ Order, and these Archpresbyters in the East

were Rural Deans in Latin countries. In England they are not found till later than Archdeacons, who are named in the ninth century Rural Deans, perhaps under Edward the Confessor. But both Archdeacons and Rural Deans were developed in need and numbers to meet the Ecclesiastical Courts set up after the Conquest, and formed a system parallel in grades and character to the secular officers in their districts. I do not mean to go into particulars about them, but only roughly to remind you how ancient our Church offices are.

Our Early Church presents the value attached to organization. The first Church 'in' England, the British Church, had existed some four hundred years, I suppose. In very troublous times, no doubt. What they had been in the South before they were swept off the face of the country is a blank. But there were saints and great men in the North, names venerated still. They had their chance to be the Church of England. But the Council of Whitby* did not settle against them only on the Legate's assertion of the Petrine claim to the Keys; but surely on what they were instinctively felt to represent, the power of organization. The saints of the Northern Church were British, or rather Scotch, or really, in fact, rather Irish, and had very little organization in them. Their being called Abbots in Ireland evidences the aspect presented by them as rather Heads of Houses than Bishops, as might easily any day be the native view taken by (say) Bishop Patteson's scholars, and islanders, of his Office as presented most nearly to them. They may have been more saintly, but they had not the gift of administrative command; and when we imagine the Council of Whitby, we can understand a vigorous King seeing more substantial strength in their rivals. To re-map the whole Island into Provinces and Dioceses that have formed the framework ever since, and made the Kingdom of England, was an idea of size that marks the political grasp of a statesmanship accustomed to large provinces, such as our Church exhibits in mapping out Japan. Celtic Tribal ideas and limitations could not have risen to it. It made a National Church. The Pope had not yet made his later ecclesiastical claims to Universal Sub-

* A.D. 664.

mission, which Gregory I.* had actually denounced as an impious idea.

The second foundation of the Church in England (to call it so), then, began under Theodore † from the top, as a National Church, 'autocephalous' still, divided into two Provinces, and they into their contained Sees made on old territorial lines, which developed under them parishes in time, in more time archdeaconries, and not much later rural deaneries. Their National Church system, then, of twelve hundred years is the same as is now doing the same diocesan and parochial work that I have been discussing in its network of spiritual, social, and philanthropic agencies, and in its clerical and lay officers. It seems as obvious to reason as in history that spiritual, no less than secular, work has to be done by men as its agents to other men, and that such agencies can, humanly speaking, only work confusion if not ordered on some regulated system. Christendom had never any doubt for fifteen centuries that Christ, through His Apostles and in the New Testament, formed a Church, not as an imaginary idea, but as a combination of real human beings to be brought to Him by organized human agencies, and to be brought together to Him in real, actual ways. That the Church was to be a Visible Church, a real working Church, organized for teaching and worship and real living work, as a system and instrument for converting the world, was, I say, never doubted for 1,500 years, during which time what were handed down as the outlines of the original Church system were religiously observed. To combine united strength by organization with liberty of method and unearthliness of spirit is what the Church system has been training its reason and experience to make possible.

On one side of our *Via Media* is the idea of separate individuals able to be united in an Invisible Universal Communion of Saints; on the other, that of complete earthly organization of all Churches under one earthly Head. Of the former we feel the great truth that the good Christians of all ages and places are a spiritual invisible Church, and are surely having their spiritual influences on the world, through all their points of unseen contact; but we see that, being invisible,

* Pope, A.D. 590-604.

† Archbishop of Canterbury, A.D. 668-690.

they cannot, as such unseen saints, be organized to do Christ's work in the world. Their human relations are disunited by being invisible, and they have no power of co-operation. The Congregationalists, as the Chairman of their Conference now sitting in London says, claim to embody the idea of the spirituality of Christ's kingdom. But in embodying it, they surely *embody* it. 'Priestism' is to have no place. But they have united mission, not for, but against a Church. And they organize in no less human ways than ours to extend and get money to spread where their Church is not visible. Even then the Chairman can but say, 'The idea of Congregationalism is beautiful, but its actual types of existence are degenerate, and if it remains as it is it can play but a poor part.' It is simply confusion of thought to contrast the Visible and the Invisible Church as contradictory. They are both true, and both our own.

On the other side of our *Via Media*, Rome presents the idea of the World organized under an earthly Head. It presents it now in the discussion proceeding between some members of the English and Roman Churches in a somewhat fresh aspect.* It is a chief interest in the present discussion that our English position is being more candidly and studiously considered than it has been. Our language has hindered foreigners from the study, and leading Roman students admit that they have never known the truth about our Orders, or our arguments for a National Church. The *a priori* argument, 'One Church must have one head: who is it if not S. Peter, and after him the Popes?' is not pressed on us, but early disputed claims are seen not to be undisputed, as Romans have been always taught. It is admitted that historically it is not as a Divine right universally allowed that Papal Supremacy was set up. It was the idea of putting the top on to the gradual development which first made Metropolitans over Bishops, and Patriarchs over them, and organized Churches by the great administrative Provinces of the Empire, which were, in fact, subject Nations, so that these Diocesan Churches were really National. In the last days † of the Empire the Bishop of Rome was by Imperial rescript given a judicial Headship of appeals over the Western Empire. But that was in accord still with

* Viscount Halifax, Abbé Duchesne, and others.

† A.D. 445.

the Church and State systems being co-ordinated. And neither their rescript nor Roman Patriarchate satisfied the spirit of the great Popes who, about the date of our Conquest, conceived the idea of a Spiritual rule over Europe as by a Divine right. It was a great idea. If National Churches ceased to exist, such a separate Church Organization might conceivably be thought an object to substitute for them. I can imagine, though no one can foretell, that Disestablishment might turn Churchmen's thoughts that way, strongly set as they are now against any submission to Rome, even if they desire Communion with her. The history of countries subject to Rome—*e.g.*, Spain—compared with the progress in life and thought and activity of those not under her, is enough to warn nations against the principles of her rule and system. The limits of national unity are the natural ones for practical organizations. Beyond them control is impracticable, understanding impossible, interest and sympathy unreal. Liberty is impossible in such rule, which must be either routine or exotic, or not attempted. The Papal system was tried for three centuries here, and could do no service. It has crushed the Gallican and now the Austrian liberties. It is an idea carrying organization beyond what is real into an imagination, which could only be a perversion of government.

English systems may be weak in discipline, but English nature is not made for it, and responds better to liberty, knowledge, and truth. We have regulation to help, and teaching to help. If men are discontented, they are not dragooned. If they can do better for themselves, they are free to do so. It is better than coercion for religion. We know that liberty and coercion are not the same, and we are clear that liberty, with all its disorder, is best. If the Independent Church polity were ever again the Church polity of England, as Cromwell was desired to make it, or if the Roman Submission were ever again established, England would know the higher, if imperfect, truth of the system of the Church of England.

Of Communion with Rome I spoke lately elsewhere.* I do not sympathize myself with the idea that the Holy Communion should be a test for division, to separate all who do not agree

* At the Southwell Diocesan Conference at Derby, October 15, 1895.

in the most perfect degree about doctrine and system. I think its very simple nature and its great central Memorial were to be uniting opportunities in which all Christians should join, however divided about particular teaching. But I cannot think it reasonable for one Church to ordain teachers supposed then to be ordained for Churches differing in main teaching. I think the principle now regarded as the one on which Rome questions our Orders is, rightly interpreted, a very true one, and one which we should apply to her, as she applies it to us—*i.e.*, if the intention of the Ordainer be to ordain a Roman priest, he does not ordain an English priest; so if I ordain an English priest, I do not intend to ordain him a Roman, and he ought not to be one. The indelibility of Orders would not be questioned by this, but their intention. The recognition of our Orders by Rome affects no one beyond those priests who may leave us for Rome: who are happily now a vanishing quantity. It does not touch Reunion. It is Rome's own principle, which neither Rome nor those anxious for her assent ought to think unreasonable. The indelible impress of Orders would be no more touched by the limitation by us than it is by Rome now. Nor would the ordained be less priests in the Church of God than Romans are now. Corporate Reunion is a great thing to discuss. To discuss it in French and with sympathy is a great thing. To come to a distinct idea what it is that separates us, what doctrines are modified or better understood, what ought to be or not to be bars to all union, is all wise and good. But England could not accept the Trent Articles, even if our Articles could cover them all in our wide openness. Nor could England accept direction from Rome, either as better, or more natural, or more primitive, than our independence as a National Church, that acknowledges the principle of Conciliar Federation as that existed in the primitive Church, and even from the times of the College of Apostles and the Council of Jerusalem, at which S. Peter certainly was not Head.*

My brethren, I have spoken a good deal about organization as the body of our duties and life, but do not suppose me to

* See Acts xv. 6-29.

forget that it is the life for which the body is to be studied, not the life for the body. The spirit and the life, and the Word spoken which is Spirit and Life, the heavenly thoughts and truths which are the Mind of Christ, are more than organization. To have in us the mind which was in Christ Jesus, who, really God as He was, did not make it His claim to be equal with God, but humbled Himself and became obedient even to death: to have that mind, in which souls are drawn to the Cross as their ideal of Christian nobility, is the one thing needful, amid all the 'cumbering of much serving'—the good part which shall not be taken from those who give themselves to learn it from Christ. We know that there may be a pride that apes humility: that may not be our snare. Simple outspoken assurance may create a false exaltation; and faith in the text, 'I can do all things through Christ which strengtheneth me,'* may lose its proportion, and, despising all helps, say, 'I and Christ are enough without them.' We may refrain from speaking out such assurance, and yet it may be there. And it only needs to leave out the 'I.' The uplifting sense of a spiritual power and call must inspire our work in all its organizations, and transform our 'much serving' into 'the Honour of God and the Edification of His Church.' 'Not I, but Christ dwelling in me.'

The magnetic power depends on its not being 'I,' but 'Christ dwelling in me.' Which is it that goes to our committees, which seem so much serving? Which goes to our cottages to preach the Gospel to the poor? Which goes to our choirs, our schools, our pulpits? The hot press of towns may seem to cumber most and endanger most the meek and quiet spirit which is, in the sight of God, of great price. But that town press has its continual discipline to check pride and make men at least men, in the crowds that throng and press and make it seem impossible for individuals to feel virtue go out from the indwelling Christ. Villages try men's reality worse. Do we think, 'My words, and acts, and temper may be indulged here unrestrained? Who sees or can censure?' They may be few, but they are all. Town crowds may stop the course of talk going through the town world, which goes

* Philippians iv. 13.

through the village world ; and the village world is our world. Do we say, 'It can't signify'? Town life has many other influences to counteract or supply failure or defect. But the village parson exists to be the one influence in place of many town influences, and if his salt loses its savour there, where-with shall it be salted ? More helpful, more blessed, but more trying, is village than town charge. Nothing but the 'I' becoming 'Christ dwelling in me,' nothing but self becoming lost in His Spirit, is sufficient for village tests of sincerity and reality in the never-ceasing temptations to forget one's self in temper, in neglect, in pride, even in sin ; where 'to watch and pray and never faint' is more inexorably the only safety in the trying duty, where all evil influences concentrate in watchful opposition, where self 'will out,' and there is nothing for it but to be the true self. But for ministers who have chosen the good part and sat at Jesus' feet, and sit there drinking in His words and spirit as their one thing needful—in that Communion with Him is happiness.

Does this seem words ? You many of you know its truth better than I do. But have not even human levels of knowledge and spirit been really the happiness of men in the midst of a lower atmosphere of more earthly earthiness ? The philosopher in all great heathen ages could even, without religious elevation, feel contempt for the bodily engrossment of men set on mere animal pleasure. The pleasure of our students in art, science, or literature rises above the crowd both in its satisfaction and its permanence, as more really their self than their body. A clergyman who has equal interest with them in study and learning has, besides that mental interest, the human relations of kindness, and sympathy, and friendship with people of many sets and many circumstances ; and besides that, too, he has what the philosophers had not, the Spiritual World of Faith and Communion with God, which is the Saint's life. Without mental, charitable, and spiritual interest the ministry must be a burden and a snare, and the village ministry especially so. It will be a mistaken vocation without vocation. But to men of spirit, to be Prophets, Priests, and Pastors, in the spirit of our ordination Service, is a noble calling, and a happy and glorious life,

with all the happiness and nobility by which souls no more known in their time of duty became the martyrs and leaders and examples of the Church which has converted the world. It must be in the 'doing' that they look to be blessed, but in their doing those who have looked into the perfect law of liberty and continued therein, being not forgetful hearers, but 'doers' of the Word (which is the mind of Christ), these shall indeed be blessed in that doing.

THE FOURTH CHARGE

THE MINISTRY SPIRITUAL

ADDRESSED TO THE DIOCESE, JUNE, 1900; BEING THE SEVENTEENTH
YEAR OF THE BISHOP'S CONSECRATION.

PART I.—THE BISHOP'S CONTROL OF LAWLESSNESS

I DESIRE to use the occasion of my Fourth Visitation to express my mind upon the questions about which the Church has not been in complete accord during the last four years, as I have, during the discussions, pointed to my Visitation as the proper occasion for dealing with them. It has been a natural cry from both sides, Why do not the Bishops make their authority felt? and both sides have naturally meant, Why have they not made it felt on our side to enforce what we think the law? What the Bishop's authority is, how it is to be made felt, whether it has been felt, are not questions asked so much as, Why is not this view enforced, when (as each side naturally says) no one can honestly doubt that it is obvious to common-sense? With common-sense and honesty ranged so obviously on both sides, it may be asked, Does law go with these? So it is also asserted, and it appears that the same principle of Law is claimed to be the strength of both sides.

Take, for example, the maxim, 'The Statute must be interpreted by history and custom.' This was the basis of the Ridsdale Judgment,* which was disputed as against the words of the statute. It is now the argument against the recent decision of the Archbishop.† I do not say that the use of 'history and custom' as argument is the same in both cases. In the Ridsdale Judgment the statute (or rubric) was inter-

* The Folkestone Ritual Case, 1877.

† Frederick Temple, D.D.

preted by history and custom showing 'what was done under' the statute, as proof that the supposed common-sense meaning could not have been the true meaning, for so another custom must have resulted. That is not argued against the Archbishop's Judgment, which would be in that sense supported by history and custom. But some other history and custom are alleged to show (so far as I understand), not what the statute meant, but that it ought to be different. That is, of course, a different argument, which would hardly stand upon the legal maxim, 'To know a statute's meaning, see what was done under it.' Would the maxim favour those who are persuaded that incense is ordered by the Rubric? History and custom were not held to do so. It appears that the same law may be interpreted in opposite ways by honesty and common-sense, aided by legal principles. For matters of public regulation this has its awkwardness in a land where 'a man convinced against his will is of the same opinion still.'

Now, the Church provision for disputes based on differences of opinion is reference to the Bishop, whether you call him by the name Ordinary and intend what legal methods are imposed on him by that name, or whether you think of him as Church Ruler on ancient principles. I shall not distinguish the two views. Autocracy, constitutional authority, nominal position, order, special functions, are more general differences in the place and power vested in Bishops in different times and Churches, the practical difference depending on jurisdiction being coercion by force, spiritual or physical, or consensual by acceptance. There has been no time since Constantine when secular force did not buttress ecclesiastical judgment, none in England since the Church was brought here.

As I said at our last Conference,* among the various origins of local Churches, England belongs to the Churches which were desired, accepted, and established by the secular rulers. Secular authority and rights of property accrued to the Church officers, and in these respects justice is done for them, as for other citizens, by civil magistrate, with secular penalties. Conditions attached to rights of property and status are maintained by civil penalties—fine, imprisonment, etc. Coer-

* Southwell Diocesan Conference at Nottingham, October 24, 1899.

cive jurisdiction is not spiritual, but civil. An English Bishop is, no less than clergy and churchwardens, an officer of the Church of England as by law established—that is, according to the laws of its settled English constitution. I am unable to agree more here than in my former utterances, that resort to penal jurisdiction for violations of the laws made for the Church of England can properly be renounced by a Bishop. I do not think it any derogation to the reverence for religion that rights of person and property be adjudicated by the same Courts for clergy and laity. If admitted breaches of law are persistently continued, I say now, as I have always said, that legal prosecution is the proper remedy. I add, as before, that the Bishop is not the proper prosecutor, any more than a Magistrate is for larceny; but I cannot admit that lawlessness ought not to be prosecuted. That a Bill should be brought to Parliament to create crimes and abolish penalty for them is incomprehensible to me. Only Parliament can impose civil penalties, and if civil penalties are to be imposed, they must be enacted by Parliament. But what could be the effect of an Act creating spiritual offences, but imposing no penalties? For whom could it be intended?

I do not mean that it is incomprehensible to me that there should be a desire to have more clearly defined law on some details of Public Worship. That is a difficult question, but one fairly open to discussion. Proposals to amend our Prayer Book Rubrics for clearness' sake have been more than once before Convocation. There is no prospect of their being accepted there without more certain forecast of the consequences. But while the ambiguity may admit some comprehensiveness, it is not in the satisfactory way of intended freedom, but with the irritation of suspected self-will. It is as a better way of meeting this unsatisfactoriness that the Prayer Book refers doubts or things diversely taken to the Bishop, and in special cases to the Archbishop, for a solution free from any attitude of hostile prosecution or civil coercion. How to arrange a friendly suit for thorough hearing of both sides has long been our *cirenic* problem. Such reference may be regarded as of ordinary use in settling all manner of minor questions which rise daily in parishes, or as of special use

when public questions call for settlement. The former is a Bishop's daily work, either in helping the inexperienced, or in applying old principles to new contingencies. The latter is exceptional, and I doubt whether constant use of it would really be as healthy as the present formation of agreement by friction and the enlightenment of discussion.

But it might well be as frequent at least as the resorts to law-courts have been from want of it, and the main preliminary requirement for its working is that there should be representatives adequately responsible in knowledge and position to claim the reference. The Bishop's Veto is the best practical form of restraint upon unreasonable agitation that has emerged yet from the multitude of counsellors. The range of occasions adequate for reference would be determined rather by the principle involved than by the magnitude of the practice immediately in dispute. The preconceptions which suggest ambiguities, or interpret ambiguities in contrary senses, are the proper subjects for the spiritual Authority's decision, rather than the uses based on the preconceptions; the uses are the occasions, but not the causes at issue. As exemplifications, uses form the concrete material for test cases; but the issue is to rectify principles, disperse ambiguities, correct fallacies, justify inferences, on which the uses have been rightly or wrongly based owing to ambiguities in the law. Ambiguities are the only occasion for such references; law-breaking is another thing, and has its proper remedy. But there have been unsettled ambiguities in our law, some more, some less real, under which, while unsettled, action cannot be called lawless, unless it claims to be.

The meaning of the so-called Ornaments Rubric, and the continued authority of medieval Canon Law in the Church of England, were the two main ambiguities which required settlement. They were just the subjects for a reference to spiritual authority, and they have been the questions brought to issue in the recent Reference to the Archbishop. I cannot now call them unsettled ambiguities for us. I do not feel concerned with the distinctions made about the Reference and its procedure, whether it was a Court, a Hearing, a Conference, a Discussion, or whether the answer was a Judgment, an

Opinion, or a Decision. I regard the procedure as no private unofficial arbitration, with no authority attached, but as the constituted procedure for authoritative decision upon the questions referred to it. What coercive force attaches to it, more particularly how it binds the Bishops of the Province, seems not a question to be asked. In this case the Bishops added their wish for the procedure, but not as needed for any purpose beyond the Archbishop's satisfaction. The decision is that of the chief Authority constituted to hear and decide questions referred to him, not as private questions, but as questions in doubt in the Church at large, and to be answered for the settlement of doubt in the Church of England. It is not, perhaps, completely parallel that the decision of a case by a Judge rules other Judges, but such civil usage may affect some judgments about the reasonableness of accepting settlement. It is, perhaps, less parallel, and yet may affect other judgments, to refer to the finality of Archbishops, such as Peccham, in the Middle Ages. I regard it more generally myself as the very idea of spiritual government in an Episcopal Church that we wish to have doubts settled and ambiguities removed, and we accept a constituted head to rule upon them, and if full and fair hearing be acknowledged, we bow to the decision and cease to dispute. I accept the Archbishop's decision as to the existing law as the basis of consideration for all cases that fall under its principles. Even for modification of law for its equitable or prudent application the necessary starting-point is settlement what it is.

It is not my business to express personal concurrence, but I will take the opportunity of saying a word about one or two maxims which have puzzled people into the uncertainty which is now cleared. 'The Church was not a new Church at the Reformation.' This, it is argued, makes all pre-Reformation usages legitimate now. It has always been the glory of our divines and the praise of our Prayer Book that our services are not new-made, but ancient, and the Collects, which are not drawn from antiquity, may be counted on the fingers, if services for special occasions be excepted. The Body

of our Liturgy and Divine Service is our continuity to antiquity, with our Ministry and its General system. But the Reformation did make changes, and the medieval usages not retained were not retained, and have no place in our system now. The Church is continuous. But its uses are reformed.

Next stands the maxim, 'Omission is not prohibition.' This is often argued superficially upon hassocks, etc., as ornaments allowed, though not ordered. That reasoning confuses two entirely different sets of omissions—omissions of things not thought of at the time, and omissions of things removed from the rubrics which had ordered them. Hassocks may require to be ordered by lawful authority, but silence about them before they were thought of is no prohibition of their being authorized when they were. Removal or alteration is our Prayer Book mode of prohibition, not by condemnation, but by regulation. I do not suppose any leaders to be subject to this superficial confusion. Their tenet is that usage enjoined by old rubrics must be presumed to go on, even where rubrics are removed, as a custom needing no order and beyond any alteration; or, more assertively, that Catholic customs cannot be altered by a single Church. Of course, no single Church can change other Churches' customs; but the most unchanging East has its variations, and what has Rome not changed on her own motion? It is a very possible confusion for people to introduce as a Catholic revival what is really purely modern Roman usage. That Churches have a right to alter ceremonies is not only the tenet of our Article, but the necessary claim of every Church.

How far identity of usage with other Churches is in itself an object to be desired is a question fairly open to discussion. Isolation is not confined to insularity, and uniformity is a small element in settling what is best. With full belief that everyone only wishes what is best, and only to change what is not thought best, I wish this were more definitely admitted to be the real object to seek. Still, Catholic-mindedness is a noble idea, where it is really Catholic in open-hearted sympathy with 'the Church, which is the Congregation of Christian men throughout the world'; in readiness to see truth and excellence wherever they exist; in desire to widen and enrich

Christian life and worship with all that every joint in the great Body can supply; and in seeking to restore unity in Christendom. Such large-heartedness of freedom from narrow rules and prejudices and self-contained judgment of all others at home or abroad is the mind of the holy Catholic Church, the very opposite of the straight sect of Medievalism which calls Catholic its own private selection of bygone ideas and practices. The very opposite, also, of the violent agitators against Medievalism, who see nothing but Popery in everything to which they are unaccustomed, and make as exclusive a pale of salvation limited to their own circle of ideas as was ever made by the Church of Rome.

I do not think the Church of England—meaning not Archbishops and Bishops, or clergy and churchwardens, but the body of Church people—has failed in appreciative sympathy with spiritual devotion and self-denying earnestness in work, in either school of doctrine. Real differences about doctrines chiefly concerning the ministry are very strongly felt, but are regarded, I think, as questions for discussion, not adjudication; and under the thoughtful examinations lately directed upon them the exact points of difference are clearly enough set forth to make real discussion possible upon the ultimate points at issue. Doctrines are more important than ceremonial, but they are not felt by Bishops or people to be capable of settlement except by reasoning and conviction. Stages of Church settlement are fairly regarded as regulating public teaching on wider judgment than each individual's, but free study and full discussion is the very principle of the Reformation. Reality, adequacy, and honesty are discriminatingly appreciated by people generally, and there is less impatience over necessary suspense, and less of the perhaps not unnatural irritation that Bishops are not inspired to settle by authority at once all problems perpetually rising in the world of religious thought. Impatience yearns for some infallibility till it learns to doubt whether infallibility makes for truth. I say it was perhaps not unnatural to expect the Bishops, who are the constituted authorities in the Church to declare doctrine, to settle all mysteries and all knowledge. Few Churchmen, or even Bishops, have not

sometimes wondered that they do not set themselves to do so—I do not say they have not tried. But Churchmen generally have come to see that it is the Bishops' part to teach, not to settle, and, as they cannot settle, not to prosecute, doctrine. Such I believe to be the most enlightened Church feeling to-day.

Rules and systems and ceremonies are regarded differently, and though importance has been attached to them as representing doctrine, they have been judged as things for regulation and law, while any feeling about them has been as to their reality, adequacy, and honesty, even more than their suitableness. I need not point to any more instances than the complete revolution of the Prayer Book system of the Holy Communion in hours, in frequency, in conduct, to show that when change was believed to be for spiritual and sufficient purpose, and to carry out more fully the Prayer Book, and with no ulterior motive, such changes have been accepted even when not desired or felt advantageous, where the clergyman's work and character and loyalty were respected. Impatience may have arisen from prejudice and ignorance where confidence and concord had not been attained first, but generally vexation has been caused by trivialities with no spiritual adequacy, or by arbitrary introduction, or by disregard of our Church rules and teaching. Lawful authority is thought either to be ignored or to be ascribed to books, persons, or customs belonging to other dates or other Churches. The exceptional cases which have in these four years brought what has been by exaggeration called a crisis have been understood to set the use of custom above the Prayer Book, the Canon law above the Statute, and the authority of foreign Churches above the English. Utterances appearing to repudiate obedience to English law and authority have been the chief offence.

These exceptional cases have almost been individual in this Diocese, which is concerned almost solely from its solidarity with the whole National Church. Parishes are not separate Churches that they should be free from all criticism but their own. They are members of the Church, the whole of which is affected by the conduct of each parish, and has, therefore, the right to criticise it. This is true of Bishops, too, no less than

of clergy and churchwardens. I should not complain of criticism from any quarter which referred to distinct breaches of admitted law, where provision existed for their prevention, and where the offence was adequate for Episcopal intervention. Only the critic must be responsible and competent, and his methods legitimate. I do not wonder at the impatience felt at the apparently uncontrolled liberty of Church management by persons whose feelings were disregarded and their principles outraged, and who were so sure of the truth and necessity of their interpretations that change, or comprehension, or consideration were all alike only unjustifiable dishonesty, disloyalty, and unfaithfulness. I cannot say that there was no provocation amounting to challenge. But unbecoming methods defeat their own objects, and must detach every responsible person from any action which could express countenance or sympathy. We have seen a Raid so damaging to the cause supported by it that the enemy has even had the credit of developing it.* Still, if lawlessness were so certain as was thought, lack of remedy might excuse impatience. It is here, I think, that there has been unreasonableness on both sides. On the one side, in unreadiness to weigh the claims of lawfulness advanced for the changes, and to distinguish between different cases and arguments with reasonable presupposition that people mean well, and not ill; on the other side, in unreadiness either to accept any recognised basis of legal sanction or to argue the lawfulness at all, or to take the other line, and argue the gain of their changes, and promote them as changes for the best. No Church ever has accepted, or can accept, the idea that changes in its system are to be made by individual minister's independent choice, or that allegiance promised to its authority may be subordinated to contrariant rules.

THE RULING OF THE PRAYER BOOK.

Disobedience to the Prayer Book has been alleged against both schools of thought in the Church; and I will now give my opinion upon the principal points alleged, on which I have made inquiries in my Visitation questions.

* The Jameson Raid in South Africa, 1896.

I find that the churches in the Diocese returned now as having Daily Services are just twice as many as those returned on the occasion of my Primary Visitation in 1888.

Here the Bishop gave statistics as to the frequency of Holy Communion and Daily Services in the Diocese. He then said :

I find that in 1887 I said these words: 'It is clear that the Early Church always celebrated the Holy Communion every Sunday. Our own Church, in ordering this for our cathedrals, makes them the models to be followed, when possible, in the other churches too, where she only does not require it.'* I am glad that now considerably more than half of the churches have weekly Communion instead of one-fourth. Though the Prayer Book did not expect this, but in its warnings and notices contemplated intervals of some weeks, and regarded what we call the Ante-Communion Service, containing the Commandments, the Church's weekly Scripture Lessons, the chief Creed, the Offertory, and the most complete of our intercessory prayers, as a substantive service expected to be used by itself; and though I cannot, therefore, regard monthly Communions as not in accord with the directions and provisions of the Prayer Book, or say that the weekly provision of a course of Church instruction implies a weekly Communion in all churches, I repeat, nevertheless, that the Church presents weekly Communion as its model, and in so doing follows its model of the Early Church. There are only quite exceptional parishes of any size which have not more than monthly Communion now.

The increase in the number of churches which have daily service is proportionately the same, being about the double of that in the returns of 1888, but the total is only just one-third of our churches. I cannot repeat of this that it is in accord with the Prayer Book; and well worn as the standing discussion is about the use of daily service, I am unable to think its disuse justifiable. There is no part of our Prayer Book system more distinctly ordered, even down to the express limitation of the admissible exceptions to the Office being a prime duty

* These words followed the statistics of Church services omitted on p. 20.

of every minister of a parish. Of its use I scarcely care to reason, because it is its disuse that needs reason. And its disuse is not limited to small parishes, but extends to more principal churches in our towns than I thought the case now. It has not been made out that our circumstances make the order less suitable than at the time of the Prayer Book, and in days when the argument that people don't come to daily services may be used possibly about Sunday as well, it is better to level week-days upwards than to disparage the use of services. It may be that the hours convenient for people are not always studied. In towns concert between a group of neighbouring churches might suit hours for several different sets. In the country, so far as I know, the hour is everything, and few of the clergy are not free enough to fix hours to suit. But it is certain that the clergyman's own care for the services is the chief persuasion to his people to follow his example, as it is the spring of perseverance against the chilling solitude which a man will probably find at first to be the fruit of past neglect. I have known—probably you most of you know—villages where services, not always at the same hour every day in the week, but suited to different sets on different days, have assembled congregations responsive to real care and interest. But 'reason not the need.' If clergy see no need to carry out the very plain direction that they have, the use of like arguments will excuse an unwilling layman from seeing any need of Sunday services either. I am glad that in the changes during the twelve years since my first Charge twice as many churches have the daily services. I repeat that there is no order in the Prayer Book so distinct and fundamental.

I am glad to learn that omission of the Athanasian Creed, as we call it, is very rare; of the occasions prescribed for its use, viz., on the principal Festivals, and one other day in each month, some few omit it on Sundays, others on week-days, very few indeed altogether. I do not doubt that it is better understood that the body of the Creed is the statement what the Catholic faith is. Its statement of the two chief Christian dogmas—the Trinity and the Incarnation—analyzes the points raised in Church history, and gives the results of the Church controversies, in a form which seems perhaps long and hard,

but which is a summary wonderful in clearness and brevity of the chief questions which exercised the Early Church. Those who do not understand the statements hear in it that the deep questions were discussed of old and settled. To many it is as real an explanation now as it was originally. But the object of the Creed is to state what the Faith is, for Christians who read in the Gospel,* 'He that believeth not shall be damned,' and ask what the Christian faith is which they have to believe to be saved. The first and last verses recall that Gospel declaration, and the Creed gives the answer what the Christian Faith is.

On the other hand, I have learnt for the first time that some few clergy omit the Nicene Creed. I do not mean by that division of the Communion Service into two parts, which was, not without good argument, one of the first methods of introducing early Communion, without the general congregation losing the Commandments, Epistle, Gospel, and Creed. High Churchmen who solved the difficulty so had good enough sense in their method, as must be often felt by us now. I do not mean that irregularity. But an old use not continued in the Prayer Book omitted it, for no intelligible reason, at certain times, and that use has been revived. I say at once that it is the most serious form of omission of a Creed, and I venture to express my objection in the words of a writer whose authority will be accepted:† 'The idea of persons being admitted to receive the Holy Mysteries without any recitation of their belief in the Incarnation traverses a fundamental principle of Church order and discipline, and creates a wide gulf of separation from those who gave us our Liturgy.'

I have been a little surprised to find that, in giving notices in church for the coming week, though it is exceptional not to give notice of the Holy Days, it is so exceptional as to be unique that notice of the Fasting Days be given, though the rubric links them with no distinction in the same direction as the holy days. The reason is, no doubt, that on the holy days some special service is held, and the notice has usually come to be notice of the service, its time and character, while there

* S. Mark xvi. 16.

† 'The Ritual Crisis,' by Dean H. M. Luckock, p. 10. London, 1899.

is no such service provided for the fasting days. The Church's system loses much of its colouring by the omissions, and busy times of work and pleasure would be the better for such religious notes and checks as were devised by these days. I do not say that the vigils are primitive or of clear meaning as fasting days, but a day in the week and a season in the year to remind Christians of their Lord's death are of clear meaning for Christian self-control, as our Prayer Book intends. I am not concerned to enter into historical distinctions about times and methods. We have times set, and while there are no rules in our Church more than in the primitive Church as to method or degree, and while we shall bear in mind our Lord's warnings as to the spirit and reality necessary for true fasting, yet it is the very principle of Church freedom, and the very principle of the spirit of reality, that Christians should make and follow the methods which will be most real to themselves for fasting, bodily or spiritual, or usually both. I say nothing of ceremonial fasting, which is not my present concern, and of which our Church says nothing, but I commend to your observation the rubric, which directs notice, not only of the holy days, but also of the fasting days to be observed.

The next two rubrics about which I inquired belong more closely to one another than seems to be observed. I mean the rubrics as to the number and position of communicants at the Holy Communion. The first is one of those discretionary rubrics which test loyalty to intention. The second obviates a recently created difficulty alleged to exist against observance of the first. The first provides that there shall be no celebration of the Lord's Supper except there be a convenient number to communicate with the priest, according to his discretion; to which is added as guide to that discretion the rubric that, 'if there be not above twenty persons in the parish of discretion to receive the Communion; yet there shall be no Communion except four (or three at least) communicate with the priest.'

It is needless to point out what is so obvious, that the number required out of a parish of twenty possible communicants gives the measure of the convenient or suitable number to be generally required, not by direct arithmetical proportion, no doubt, but by the general idea of the proportion of the

possible communicants which would represent the body substantively. Any idea of four or three being spoken of as the rubrical requirement in an ordinary parish is out of all relation to these rubrics.

I do not think that the occasions on which difficulties on this point have occurred to clergy who have frequent celebrations are what these rubrics are concerned with. I do not say that a previous question is not there—viz., whether celebrations are not too frequent if they do not assemble communicants. But where a week-day Communion is notified, and there come only two persons, I do not think it unreasonable for the clergyman to say that the rubric did not mean him to send them away. That is not the object of the rubric, and if he and they came *bonâ fide*, I should think his discretion not wrong. But I say that if such conditions are frequently repeated it becomes his duty in his obedience to notify that he must in future require the rubrical previous notice from a sufficient number, without which there would be no service. The rubric means to prohibit intentional solitary celebrations, not to rudely reject those who come presuming others would come, who do not. It is different where a habit grows up of celebrating the Communion with a convenient number present, but not intending to communicate. There need be no uncertainty about this, as the second rubric I have quoted is a provision of the Prayer Book to prevent the uncertainty. I gather that very few of the clergy attach any meaning to that rubric, or understood why I referred to it. I believe, though I never saw it, that at the beginning of the century some congregations used to ‘draw near’ when these words were addressed to them. But that was not at the point or by the direction of this rubric, nor should I have expected anyone to suppose me to refer to the practice. The rubric provides for the communicants being together. I do not propose now to discuss the intention of the Prayer Book about persons being present without communicating. But supposing them present, the rubric provides against the confusion and the inconvenience (which is often very real) arising from the communicants being mixed among non-communicants. Where the rubric is acted upon, the priest would know whether those present

intended to communicate or not. The chancel is the proper place where they should be conveniently placed, as S. Paul's and other Cathedrals exemplify; but if that is usurped by a choir, the rubric is not thereby impossible.

However, it is not, even for this difficulty, at small early or week-day Communion that these rubrics aim. Such Communion was not in the Revisers' minds. They refer to the Sunday Communion, which was to be the chief service, and as such to embody the Church's principles. The rubric provides by a technical rule, what the whole service provides in its prayers and addresses and general structure, that the service was to be a Holy Communion of the Church as a Body in each place, and not a priest's service performed for the people as having themselves no part. For this the rubric orders that a number which the priest judged a suitable representation of the parish communicants must be ready to communicate. No fixed number for parishes of all sizes could be suitable, nor was that the idea intended. But the limitation for the very smallest furnishes a general scale for the priest's discretion in measuring what number would be a suitable representation of his particular parish. To regard that extreme limitation as the rule for parishes of every size is too obviously an abuse of discretion and a misapplication of the rubrics. The number requisite to avoid a breach of the rubrical direction is not three or four, but a number representing in intention and idea the full assembling of the congregation for Communion. And for this chief service the provision of convenient arrangement is meant, and is now necessary. While only communicants were there, they were one body in whatever part of the building they were, and their own seats were 'convenient.' That is changed by the presence of non-communicants. The rubric for placing the communicants gives the time provided for others to withdraw; but it is also a provision that allows them to stay without being a hindrance, as they constantly are, by making it difficult for communicants among them to know when to approach, and by giving an excuse thereby to the priest not to wait for them. I am not supposing obstacles to reception being imposed, or refusal of opportunity to those who wish. That would destroy

one of the essential features of the service, and, as the writer whose authority I have before quoted says, it would go beyond the Council of Trent, which desired 'the faithful to be present at every Mass to communicate, not only in spiritual feeling, but in sacramental partaking of the Eucharist.'*

I have always held that, in theory, no revolution ought to be beyond consideration, when it is in people's minds. I should be quite ready for a conference to consider whether the Holy Communion at nine or ten o'clock might well take the place of Mattins as the Sunday morning service. I grew up under that system in Winchester Cathedral, with the preparatory service of the Litany. We had separate Mattins at eight. There is much to be said for it. Whether the part to be taken by the Body of the Church should be altered, or some distinct representation of the Body be devised to be its sponsors in Communion, are questions on which such principles are involved that I regard them as beyond present consideration. Still more are they beyond individual priest's determination for his own parish. My fifty years' travelling experience has never made me desire to exchange with foreign services and foreign Sundays, though I fully admit that there exists exaggerated feeling of English superiority. But a more travelled and Catholic-minded generation may carry into its Churchmanship the common English tendency to disparage everything English, however esteemed. And I have no feeling that Church forms, more than secular, should be unchangeable. Forms are not doctrines, nor do changes in them change the truths which Church doctrines are meant to present. I do not know any forms, Greek, Roman, or Puritan, which are better than our own; nor could I say in what direction changes in our forms, if made, would be made. But we ought always to be ready to consider reforms which anticipate revolutions. Meanwhile, these chief services are not matters of private interpretation, and alterations, omissions, or interpolations in them are excepted altogether from personal discretion. This is as true of the Office for Baptism as for Holy Communion. If such changes were made as disparage-

* Council of Trent, Sess. xxii.

ments of our service, I should not be going too far in calling them abuses, not of discretion, but of indiscretion.

At this season I will not pass from this subject without an expression of my concern that the position given by our Prayer Book to Ascension Day is still not fully observed. A day which is one of the five only days in the year for which a special preface is provided in the Communion Service must be recognised by everyone to be specially marked by our Prayer Book as a day on which the Holy Communion should be celebrated. The day has not maintained its pre-eminence in general regard with Christmas Day; but Churchmen who accept the recorded events of our Lord's earthly life cannot but match its end with its beginning, and consent to the Prayer Book that Ascension Day is of all days a special day for His Memorial Service.

There remains one point to which I drew the attention of the clergy in my questions, the Warning before the Holy Communion. In parishes where there is weekly Communion there may seem (to use the phrase of the rubric) to be no occasion for it. But the Warning and longer Exhortation in the service teach lessons not useless for regular communicants, and I am glad to find how few of the clergy never read them. I refer to it now, because last year I deferred till this occasion the completion of a discussion which I had begun on the last part of this warning, whether it gave authority for the use of private absolution in the form called Sacramental Confession.

I shall confine myself to the single question : Does the end of the warning authorize the system of Private Absolution? The sentence runs: 'Because it is requisite, that no man should come to the Holy Communion, but with a full trust in God's mercy, and with a quiet conscience; therefore if there be any of you, who by this means (*i.e.*, the self-examination, confession to Almighty God, with purpose of amendment of life, and reconciliation with his neighbour, as prescribed before) cannot quiet his own conscience herein, but requireth further comfort or counsel, let him come to me, or to some other discreet and learned Minister of God's Word, and open his grief; that by

the ministry of God's holy Word he may receive the benefit of absolution, together with ghostly counsel and advice, to the quieting of his conscience, and avoiding of all scruple and doubtfulness.'

I will first consider the use of the word 'minister,' as arguments have been chiefly turned to show that that word does not preclude reference to absolution, because 'minister' often means 'priest' in our formularies. That is not questioned, but it does not meet this case. It is often rightly emphasized that the Savoy Conference,* just before the last revision of the Prayer Book, refused to accede to the Puritan desire to substitute 'minister' for 'priest' in every case in the book, and refused on the express ground that consecration and absolution were offices limited to priests. But the Conference not only did this, but proceeded to examine every place in the Prayer Book concerned with consecration or absolution, and took care that wherever either of these offices were concerned the word 'minister' was removed and the word 'priest' employed, as it now stands in the Public Absolutions in the Holy Communion and Morning and Evening Prayer. This deliberate care makes the use of the word 'minister' in the warning show that the passage was not meant by the revisers to give directions about absolution. Yet if that were all there might have been an oversight. But Bishop Cosin† had drafted the warning in the form, 'Let him come to me or to some other *priest*, the minister of God's Word'; and with all this care and attention about the import of terms, the word 'priest' was erased from Bishop Cosin's draft, and 'minister of God's Word' left as sufficient. That is, after insisting that the word 'priest' was essential in any reference to absolution, and after insisting on removing the word 'minister' and inserting the word 'priest' in all passages referring to it, they yet in this warning insisted on removing the word 'priest' from the proposed draft, and left 'minister' there. How can they be supposed to be giving directions for absolution? But, further, it is not 'minister' in the indeterminate use of the name that is spoken of, but 'minister of God's Word,' a technical title of *concionator* or 'licensed preacher.'

* A.D. 1662.

† Bishop of Durham, 1660-1674.

And it is by the ministry of the Holy Word that he is to work the needful trust in God's mercy, and the quieting of conscience, which is the object proposed. Not, as it is caricatured, 'by saying a text,' but by working the required faith and repentance by the power of the Gospel, not by a formal rite. This is the meaning of the change 'benefit of absolution' in place of 'absolution': that the ministry of God's Word would release the conscience, not by a formal pronouncement of absolution, but with all the benefit sought in that. If absolution were to be given, absolution would not have been altered—or was it of no benefit before? Admission to the Communion was the primitive way to absolution. The release is not from sin or punishment, but from scruple and doubtfulness. 'Have I committed the sin against the Holy Ghost? Can I be forgiven if I still wish to sin? Is my belief sufficient? Is my repentance real? What must I do to be saved?' These are common forms of helpless doubts of scrupulous consciences which the ministry of God's Word is to solve or release. All the elements of the course prescribed are essentially different from formal private absolution. And the transition counsel that people should neither object to nor insist upon private confession was now withdrawn. As Bishop Andrewes* said, the custom had passed into disuse. Even Bishop Sparrow† called on people to 'confess as the Church directs, not privately, for that has unhappily ceased, but publicly.' And in the Roman controversy‡ which arose upon the Prayer Book the English writers asserted public absolution, but private only for the sick, which Bishop Jeremy Taylor§ says ought not to be private.

It is not my concern to deal now with the wisdom or legitimacy of sacramental confession as an unauthorized pastoral method, nor of confession by itself at all. I have limited myself to the one question, whether the warning was intended to direct private absolution. Such a view contradicts

* Sermon iv. on Whit Sunday.

† Sermon on 'Confession of Sins and the Power of Absolution,' 1637.

‡ See 'Advice to Those who exercise the Ministry of Reconciliation,' by E. B. Pusey, pp. 57 *et seq.* Oxford, 1878.

§ 'Holy Dying,' v. 4.

the Revisers' language and the cotemporary writers' comments. I will only add that I do not the least question the good faith, spirit, and intention of those who have revived the formal practice in this half-century. Good intention, good spirit, and good faith work good independently of their methods, which in this matter depend for practical effects entirely on the subjective conditions of the people. That every facility be given for pastoral comfort and counsel to troubled souls, and that the spiritual physician should, where conscience of sin is the sickness, assure the patient when the time of recovery comes that he may trust God's mercy that he is forgiven, is the very spirit of the warning; and for knowledge of cases brought to him he will be bound to examine into their nature. To what degree systematic recourse to spiritual direction is healthy, and regulative discipline is good educationally, depends on the cases, and may be desired in proportion as home discipline fails. That such direction is a Church rule, or necessary for pardon of sin, or a condition of Confirmation or Communion, is not now professed. That revival of rule and obligation was the danger which our Church had to resist.

I will only now say one word upon the two questions brought before the Archbishops,* whose decision I accept without any discussion. I will speak first of Reservation. Reservation of the Sacrament for 'the sick and dying' does not necessarily imply one particular doctrine about the Sacrament. Those who regard the consecrated elements as instrumental symbols of a Spiritual Presence of Christ in the Sacrament might as reasonably reserve portions of what have once been consecrated for that purpose to be subsequently used as instrumental symbols, as those who believe the elements to be themselves changed in other ways beyond their consecration to be sacramental symbols. They might reserve either in consideration for the sick person's circumstances, or with the idea of bringing the sick into fellowship with the communicants in church, but their doctrine would not be changed. The reservation does not necessarily imply one doctrine more than

* F. Temple, D.D., and W. D. Maclagan, D.D.

the other. Indeed, the old Canonist* shows the difficulties attached to reservation by Transubstantiation, and while he deprecates arrangement of it being made for adoration, he also warns priests that reservation is for the sake of the sick, not of the consecrators. It was not to limit consecrations or preserve fasting for the priest, but to meet the needs of the sick. And this is the one reason under consideration now. The course prescribed as a Prayer Book system for Communion of the Sick is clear and undoubted. The question is, Are there cases which form exceptions? I have had this question raised by several clergy at different times, and my judgment has been that where a dying person's surroundings make it practically impossible to carry out the Office the elements may be taken direct from a Celebration in church, on the principle of a primitive practice of sending to those who could not be present, not as treating them differently, but as expanding the company of communicants to include them. There cannot be many such cases when the sick are both fit or prepared communicants, and also in surroundings where administration is possible and consecration impossible, but the charity of the Church has from primitive times designed to treat the dying with indulgence beyond the whole, and though I am not impressed with any idea of frequent urgency by my Visitation answers, I think that there are exceptional cases in which the practice is valued and charitable. It ought in strictness to be at the time of the administration. The substitution of mere administration for the service is a great loss to those really able to participate, and the old warning may need to be repeated that such use is not for the sake of the priest. At this moment the warning seems more needed not to foster the mechanical idea of a viaticum which people may not 'run the risk' of losing, in place of the farewell Christian Communion to link the parting. I will not add any further comment on this question, except to repeat that I accept entirely the Archbishops' decision.

Of Incense I have spoken in a former Charge,† and do not

* Compare Joseph Bingham, Works, v. 395-397. Oxford, 1855.

† See above, p. 93.

care to add more than two remarks in regard to such mere ceremonial being specially questioned. It is by its nature the most aggressive of the medieval revivals or foreign introductions. Its positive pleasure may match its positive displeasure, but its absence cannot affect those who have always been without in the same degree as its presence, even apart from its scenic ceremonial. A church atmosphere may be a mystical pleasure comparable to the dim religious light of painted windows or the prehistoric music of plainsong. But whether for pleasure or displeasure, it is the most aggressive of all the revived accessories of medieval services. It is not a modification of existing use, but an entire addition. Still, the Archbishops' decision leaves this Church atmosphere of still use to Church feeling to use or not, and thereby leaves all that contains Church symbolism in incense, if, indeed, there belongs to it any symbolism not of mere individual application. It seems the sign of some life added to prayers, in their fragrance or sweet savour, or in their upward float, or more meaningly in the Spirit's intercession in them. These meanings belong to the still use of burning incense in church, not to the ceremonial. Ceremonial censing is only one more accessory to increase scenic effect. It is not part of the Temple service, nor of the visions of the Revelation, but of medieval and foreign effect. But the Book of Revelation is quoted as authorizing it for Christian use in worship, as if the question were not its legitimacy, but some essential evil in it. This impresses some good people, and I will speak briefly about it.

Incense is mentioned in the Authorized Version in two, in the Revised Version in three chapters, of which v. and viii. are favourable mention, xviii. adverse, placing incense and frankincense among merchandise of the merchants of the world, no longer to be bought after the fall of the city of Babylon. But the vision of the fifth chapter presents the four living creatures and the four and twenty elders falling down before the Lamb, having each one a harp and golden bowls full of incense, which (bowls) are the prayers of saints; the eighth presents an angel 'at the altar with a golden censer; and there was given unto him much incense, that he should give it to the prayers of all the saints upon the golden altar

before the throne. And the smoke of the incense in (or for) the prayers of the saints went up before God out of the angel's hand.'* The incense was held in the prayers of the saints, and was committed by the angel to the prayers of the saints, and went up in (or for) the prayers of the saints. No cloud of salutation to a conqueror or king, no cloud of fragrance at a funeral procession, which were the uses of heathen processions, are part of either chapter, to be examples for censuring men and things. Any such public ceremonial before the multitude was contrary to the ideas of the Temple use of incense in its times and in its separateness. Ceremonial censuring did not arise from any Scriptural use. I do not suppose its use to be rested on such argument. But the good people who are told that it is Scriptural, and therefore must be legitimate, may be content that the 'still use' outside the services, which is held legitimate, is more representative of Scriptural use than the ceremonial use forbidden by the Archbishops' decision.

I repeat once more that I accept the Archbishops' decisions. They represent the arbitrament which is the essence of Episcopal Churches, none the less because it is also in a special way of her own that of the Church of England.

In estimating what has been called indiscriminately lawlessness, I have myself modified my judgments by three considerations, in which I have not stood alone. First, that in some instances lawlessness has not been disobedience to law, but absence of law or uncertainty of law. Second, that it is almost a mockery to tell people to get the law changed in the divided state of opinion and in the indolent immobility of Legislature. Third, that novelty has been introduced by men who claim consideration for their ideas—I do not say by their character and work in themselves, but by their knowledge of their people, and feeling that the novelty would be helpful and good spiritually. An example of the first is the most troublous and revolutionary change made in the hours, order, and relation of the Sunday services. This has scarcely been against directions, but only against use. The intended relation and order of the services is indicated, but too finely to

* The Bishop's own translation from the Greek.

force attention; the use of music is voluntary, and so on. This discretion can scarcely be supposed to justify a revolution of the system of services, but there is no such prescribed regulation of them as to make it lawless to fix the Holy Communion before Mattins, or in the evening, or never at mid-day, or to disable Mattins, or to make services into a concert. Again, the Ornaments Rubric has been conscientiously interpreted to order revivals of obsolete uses, and if wish has sometimes been father to the thought, I think the rubric required interpretation, such as I do not doubt rightly given now, and required it the more owing to the indistinct judgments of the Law-courts. I do not mean that nothing was done on principles which could not be asserted, but that in much which provoked complaint of lawlessness law either did not order at all, or was ambiguous.

Then, it must be admitted that no change in Church law or system is now readily attainable by legislative methods. Government in England says of all existing customs in every department, If people feel any grievance, they will make a disturbance; if they want a law changed, they will break it. And in these Church matters it must be admitted that enough changes have been accepted as good, and even as lawful, after disputes and objections, to justify consideration for like changes. Meanwhile, enough other changes have come to naught to justify trust that honestly-meant improvements may ordinarily have their trial for acceptance or failure. Few people wish to go back to 1800 as a model for eternity. But such liberty requires effective control, as well as loyal discretion, and perhaps most of all pastoral considerateness. And times will come when the happiness of the Church requires a sense of law to keep liberty tolerable. Generous commanders are wise even to risk some confusion temporarily, until it is certainly necessary to enforce restraint, and the necessity secures the support of general assent. In Church matters, faithful, devoted clergy will be supported by people sure of their reality; and it will be an evil day if all interest, idea, initiation, and authority be suppressed in parish clergy, for life is better than custom. But support does not always mean approval, and good is only made good in good ways.

I am speaking, not to clergy only, but to representative laity. The acceptance of the laity signifies as much as that of the clergy, to which substance is given by the lay support and opinion of the parish or congregation or church. The Bishops have been called upon to discipline 'lawless clergy' (the phrase is not mine, nor have I used it to, or of, anyone), and those of both Schools of doctrine and usage. But it is often forgotten that there are the laity too. If they are aggrieved and cannot prevent, that means, so far as I see, one of three things: either no clear law exists where law is supposed to be broken; or no responsible representatives complain; or acquiescence is preferred to division. In such conditions a Bishop cannot exercise control. The clergyman is not always wrong, but where one is in any way 'lawless,' the Bishop must not be. In control or discipline the Bishop is not master, or employer, or head of department, or schoolmaster, or colonel, or any other autocrat, but a constitutional ruler, who can no more order people about on his own account than the Queen or the clergy. He must act by Law, and openly, and can only do more harm than good by acting either on irresponsible complaints or when his authority is powerless.

But that was not my drift, which was that the lawlessness in ritual, which Bishops are blamed for neglecting, is more effectively lay than clerical. Without lay leaders as aggressive as irresponsible, the transgressions of established boundaries would not have been carried out by the clergy. Lay leaders can say and do what they like, so far as Bishops' control is concerned, and it does not discredit their theology to take up positions which they can give up if disputed, but about which they rely on Bishops not being able to enter public controversy or deal otherwise with them. Lay Heads of Societies are fully appreciated. Then, lay patrons are another force in our Church, where Bishops, happily for them, are not, as in other Churches, the appointers to benefices, but are Heads of a service in which the officers are appointed by others. I have always valued the free variety due to this, but the Bishops' control must be measured by the laymen's part in the Church. But besides this, the chief reason, whether you call it justification or motive, for many extreme develop-

ments has been the young recruits of advanced movements more enthusiastic, perhaps, than instructed, but keen, alive, interested, and always eager to be progressive; and more persuasive still, in other places, the devoted, poor, working parishioners of saintly enthusiasts, for whom their people would fight even against their own sentiments. I cannot myself say that, if lay support of a movement predominates, it has not a claim to influence our Church system, however much that may be claimed to be the privilege of the clergy. It must, at any rate, affect the wisdom of Bishops' intervention, when that might only excite popular sentiment to rescue the weak, innocent, and oppressed from tyrannical Bishops and dissentient agitators, as generously as it may champion peasant republics against imperial aggrandizement.

I do not think the Bishops guilty of the weakness, stupidity, or negligence which has formed so much party material for public discussion before our unhappy engrossment in national war. I know no Bishop who has been disturbed from his natural consideration of what was just and true and lawful and most for the largest and best interest of the Church. There are larger interests than hasty suppression of disquiet, even if that is possible. A new paper constitution would probably alter all the relations of Bishops, clergy, and churchwardens; and many, I do not doubt, think they might be altered with advantage. But there is no better example of a live institution not worked by machinery than our very independent and loosely-united system of parishes in dioceses which are the characteristics of our Church. Paper constitutions kill life, they don't make it. Our system requires the hardest Christian duty, that all our officers forget themselves in care for the good, the liberty, the feelings of others. Freedom requires the best men, and the best men require freedom. A system which gives the best men the most freedom, even though it tempt weaker members to laxity or presumption, is still the best for English freedom. It ought to shame all to duty by honour. It certainly draws the greatest devotion from those worthy of it. Our failures drive us near desperation. But relief would be dearly purchased by

coercion which enslaved our good clergy to Bishops or laity. I do not want clergy to discipline laity, nor laity clergy, nor either nor both to discipline Bishops; but neither do I want Bishops to have clergy in their power. Our joy is good clergy; our need is good clergy; our way is not by discipline or coercion, but by good conditions of service, both spiritual and material, but chiefly spiritual. Bishops, clergy, and churchwardens may all in turn claim to be masters, and to order. But as the laity draw lines where the clergy should direct firmly with responsibility, but should not stand upon autocratic self-assertion of masterhood; and as clergy expect Bishops to direct firmly with responsibility, but yet not to order apart from their defined jurisdiction; the regular government of the Spiritual Body is more or less consciously recognised to be consensual rule by lead, guidance, influence, not coercive rule by authority and force. What has been effected by influence, lead, and guidance is patent in every Church improvement. No less clear evidence exists of the hindrance, division, and opposition created by ill-considered masterfulness in any one part. The living organism of the vine or the human body is presented as our ideal of all working together in one as members one of another.

A Bishop's office consists, happily in very small part, of settling crises. The Church is not always in a crisis in the common sense of that word. The continuous work of a Bishop is that of keeping the Church [in the Diocese going—partly by managing the connecting machinery for its combined life, partly by advising, supporting, encouraging the local workers, whom it is his office to stimulate, not to supersede. If disputes do arise, he is judge, not partisan. He belongs to both sides, and must put himself in the position of both sides. He has to declare the law, not to alter it, and to do so impartially, whichever side is right.

In the Sub-Apostolic days the Epistle of Clement recognises the overthrow of rulers at Corinth, which it rebukes, to be due to jealousy at the word 'superintendence'—*ἐπὶ τοῦ ὀνόματος ἐπισκοπῆς*. And the next writer, Ignatius,* compares the

* Chap. iv., Epistle to the Magnesians. The Apostolic Fathers, Edinburgh, 1867.

difference between real and nominal Christians with 'those who have the Bishop's name on their lips, but in everything act apart from him.' If 'Bishops' meant, as it is thought, parish priests and not diocesan Bishops, parish priests may be reminded that it is not only of diocesan superintendence that jealousy exists. Fellow-feeling may make them wondrous kind, both to Bishops, with whom they will sympathize, and the people too, with whom also they may sympathize. Despots hear but one side. A man under authority, with soldiers under him, sees both, and ought to feel the corporate obligation to take his own place in his ordered community. A man who listens to those to whom he ought to listen will be listened to by those who ought to listen to him. Of course, it will be a question to whom we ought to listen, and there are times for revolutions in Church as well as State. But the strong, silent, inevitable upheaval of deep feeling, which makes healthy revolutions in their time, is not with, but against, the idiosyncrasies of parties or the self-assertion of individuals. Progress, reform, freedom, are life to an institution; but life can only make progress by unity, and a kingdom divided against itself cannot even stand. A National Church and an Episcopal Church are institutions under perpetual Visitation, not by Bishops, but by the Body of Christians which is the Church. The essential of each will be its life and faithfulness; but a National Church must be national, an Episcopal episcopal.

PART II.—PRINCIPLES OF ORDINALS

I will use as introduction to my subject a question which has in the last four years interested some members of our Church: whether the Pope of Rome would recognise the validity of Anglican Orders—I say Anglican, not only as the title of the Church of England presented to the Pope, but also as the inclusive title accepted by the Churches of America, Scotland, and our Colonies and Missions, as that of the common stock at the date when all were in its loins, and not that of one branch, however central and important. How that question came to be discussed is variously asserted and denied, and is

only of secondary, indirect interest. Whether any expectation was entertained that Rome would reverse its old position, I cannot say. I do not myself consider the discussion fruitless in removing old delusions and enlightening Roman unofficial opinion, which is more really important than official. The Curia would not admit past mistakes, nor stultify its officials in England. But the Bull *Apostolicæ Curæ** is more interesting from its reasons given than for its foregone conclusion. The incident itself is closed, if it was ever open. But the meaning of validity of Orders and the grounds for it are questions which the discussion of them raises into wider and more constant interest.

It is not a bad approach for us to these questions that is opened by the Papal discussion and judgment. The ultimate and really sole and sufficient ground of the Papal negative was that our Church is not in the Papal submission, but our Ordinal was also held defective for certain differences from the present Roman Ordinal, and chiefly for the omission of any act of tradition of the Instruments in which the Bull holds that the power of Sacramental consecration is given as the chief priestly office. The two reasons are very different in principle and importance, but both raise interesting questions. The first means that the Pope counts us heretics, and says heretical ordinations are null. The second declares that certain forms or acts are essential to Ordination. Now, there is a sense in which the Pope has full right to say both these things; but there is a sense, and that the one intended, in which he has no right—except from being asked to give his opinion. That English Ordination would not make a Roman priest is right enough; and if (as I suppose possible) he was asked what would imply that, no one can dispute his right to require no less form than his Church prescribes, still less his right to require Papal submission from one ordained to be a Roman priest. Whether all the acts of the modern Roman Ordinal are ancient, or true in conception, or necessary to the conception, is no concern of ours; Rome may order them for its own use, and the fact that the ancient Ordinals, even those specially Roman, do not contain what the Bull calls essential,

* Promulgated by Leo XIII., 1896.

affects only Rome's judgment whether ordinations in Rome under those ancient Ordinals were valid, as their descendants, of course, claim. But there is no reason why a Church may not enrich simpler forms of antiquity, and, after doing so, insist on its additions being indispensable for its own use.

It is only when an absolute standard is supposed for all times and all Churches as containing something which of itself produces ordination, and is the only thing which can, that such inconsistency in different ages signifies. To claim to constitute an absolute standard for all times and Churches is an absurd claim for any Church to make. And such an idea as that is met by comparing the ancient Ordinals: whether you go back to the contents of what may be called New Testament examples or to the forms in any Eastern or early Western Ordinal, they all contain all the supposed defects alleged in the Bull against our own, and would, on the Bull's assertions, leave Christendom with no validly ordained ministry. Our own Ordinal did certainly refer back to ancient models, as the historical principle of our Reformers directed them, and contains their ideas of the ministry; but it develops also the principles of ministry which our Church desired to impress both on ministers and people, and claims to be a service valid, not by this or that formula of words, but as intended to commission approved ministers and worthily competent for the purpose. In this and for this our Church needs no other judgment.

Whether all Churches ought to agree upon one Ordinal is a question beyond my consideration and practical politics. It is certain that different Churches impress different characters on their ministry, and no Church can ordain ministers for another Church but by mutual understanding and agreement. The idea of a priest as an official for every Church in the world belongs to the common confusion between the Holy Catholic Church which is the Kingdom of God, and the local Churches organized as its necessary and original but imperfect representatives. The organization of the Holy Catholic Church is a question which must wait for the definition of the Holy Catholic Church itself. For the local or National or other organized Territorial Churches, community of officers must

depend upon community of principles on which they are appointed. While, *e.g.*, Rome calls us heretics, the two Churches cannot recognise each other's officers without their renouncing the principles of their ordination. Where, however, ordination is invalidated by imperfection of form of Ordinal, that is quite another question, which it is not inconvenient for us to approach from this Roman position. The idea that a particular amount and kind of form is essential, and that there is a something produced by the essential form which is not producible without it, is a theory of God's dealings in the Ministry of Grace which is unnatural enough to require distinct authority. It is really the point at issue in the controversy about sacerdotalism, though it is apparently not regarded as a question at all by some of our ablest and most candid writers. The Bull may help us to discuss it as a real question.

It will be convenient to consider, in passing, the general idea that some particular words, or particular prayers, or particular acts, which form part of a more extended or complete service or ceremony, constitute the effective part which gives the special grace of the service. So in the Holy Communion the Consecration prayer, and in Confirmation the Imposition of hands, is spoken of as the efficient part. When we find the Eastern Church said to regard the Invocation of the Holy Ghost as the effective part of the Eucharist, and when Chrism is counted that of Confirmation, we cannot but ask whether these particularizations have more authority than individual imagination. The double account of the same Gift prevents either account from carrying conviction that it states the essential cause. If a Church declares that it will regard a rite as completed when, and not before, such and such a word or act has been accomplished, such a rule of practical use is reasonable for that Church. But that does not make the act or word convey the Gift. The Rite represents complex Spiritual union in devotion, and is effective only in proportion to the reality of that spiritual combination. The minister may be a mere dead instrument like the form of words appointed to be used, and himself only adding another appointed part

of the rite for the whole Church or congregation to join in using, and his commission and office provide the outer form in which the Church can combine its devotions. In that sense he may be a necessary, because appointed, instrument ; but except he be a living minister really presenting spiritual devotions, he adds nothing. The Ministry of Grace is ascribed to the Church ; and that does not only mean that the Church appoints ministers (nor do I now speak of its largest meaning in the working of the Holy Catholic Church), but it means that the effectiveness of worship is not taken out of the responsibility of the whole body by the appointment of ministers to conduct it, but lives in the reality and spiritual devotion of the assembled Church. The priesthood of the people is represented but not superseded by the minister, who is, from the Apostles downwards, their representative minister, not their vicarious head. The spiritual power of a rite requires their united spirit ; and if the rite be not only for public worship, but for spiritual gifts to particular persons, the rite may have all the life of a spiritual minister conducting spiritual service with a spiritual assembly, and with all that can be added by spiritual forms and acts and prayers and accessories ; and yet to the persons for whom it is held it may be a dead form of mere official appointment, a Church status or public fellowship, if they be not themselves spiritually prepared for the gift besought for them. The one thing needful on the human side is their own personal spirit, which may rise even on dead instruments of form and ministry to the Throne of Grace, and receive gifts as God has promised to the Church, or may be dead amid the most gracious ministrations.

A rite supposes the true union of all engaged in it, and is effective by that, not by itself. And its appointed form is in like manner constructed as a whole of many parts, some more central to the special idea than others, but to be taken as a whole, containing the intention not in some one part, but distributed over the whole. In Confirmation, the preparation, the question, the promises, the prayers, are parts as truly as the imposition of hands. In the Holy Communion, the instruction, the profession of Belief, the offerings, the intercessions, the Confession and Absolution, are true component

parts, as well as the Consecration, the Communion, the praise and thanksgiving. As means of Grace affecting souls for their spiritual change, which Theology calls salvation, or justification, or sanctification, or atonement, our services are wholes of many parts, not to be divided more than the soul itself. And the Church, which constructs services as spiritual instruments of Grace, is much misconstrued if they are taken to be forms endowed with spiritual power by their mere performance, and apart from the spiritual truth and earnestness of all engaged in them. United devotions require common expression. Liturgies direct, and unite by directing, common devotions, and express the intentions of the constructing Church upon its principles as to the Ministry of Grace. Mutilated or extended or altered services do not express the intentions of the Church, but of the individual alterer. The intention of the Church is in the whole.

We may, as I said, see this more readily from the Bull about Ordinations than from services of our own about which people have their preconceptions. The modern Roman Ordinal has developed a number of formal ceremonies, by which it divides the offices assigned to its priests. Thereby the service may be more impressive, and the degree of ceremonial is only subject to the familiar considerations; it does also instruct the people in its distinctive ideas of the ministry; but while the Bull states necessity of some precise act and words constituting the act of Ordination, there is no Ordinal where it is so impossible to fix on any precise act satisfying the Bull's requirements. The Roman Ordinal, with all its instructing ceremonies, is, to an exceptional degree, only able to satisfy the Bull's requirements if taken as a whole, combining the different requirements in different parts. This is right enough. It is what we assert of our own Ordinal. It is not in difference of single constituting act of Ordination, but in difference of the contents and proportion of parts, that the two Ordinals present their differences in intention and idea or principle of their ministry. These ideas, not the acts, constitute specific differences of ministry. But, as I began by saying, the ancient Ordinals, from which the specific forms are derived, must contain the adequate generic forms and

intentions for ordination, or else no true minister existed to transmit any descent such as is claimed. This argument is, I believe, generally admitted to modify any insistence on specific forms as essential in themselves to the Ministry of Grace. Forms may be and have been developed by Churches for dignity, impressiveness, or instruction, but the essential in any form, simple or elaborate, is the intention of the Church using it to seek the gift or grace therein desired. The conditions of effectiveness are the legitimacy and the earnestness of the desire.

The right of developing forms does not legitimate claims to other powers than those for which there is primitive authority. The real question about Ordination is not the form or even the office by which it is conferred, but the powers claimed to be obtained or conferred. The functions delegated by the Church in it are to be found in the system of selection, preparation, acceptance of the ordinands, as well as in the exhortations, questions, profession, and promises, which express the Church's ideas and intentions in the service, no less essentially than in the Imposition of hands and its accompanying prayer. But it is not the functions and offices delegated that form the main question at issue, but the powers for them which are claimed. There have been times when English clergy have been stung unduly by Roman taunts that there were no more any priests in England. And they set the example, recently followed among us, of making out that there was not so much difference as that; instead of taking the true line, that Roman assertions were not based on reality, and that our Church was better, not worse, for renouncing claims that were only pretences.

It is not strength but weakness to claim for the Sacramental or Penitential system superhuman powers of working miracles on material things, or controlling heavenly destinies. I say 'superhuman' for want of a better word, to express a different idea from supernatural. All Ministry of Grace is supernatural as working in man that which by nature he cannot have. Ministers of Grace are fellow-workers with God in this, but their sphere and powers of Commission are not unlimited, and need distinct expression of authority before they can be

claimed to extend beyond influence on man, exercised in human ways with the spirit and enlightenment of Christian men, blessed with the Holy Spirit. This is the Commission expressed in our Ordinal, and I understand the thoughtful Church leaders who have been giving so much attention to the subject of the ministry, to recognise these human limitations of ministerial power, and to ascribe to the direct operation of God whatever miracles they attribute to the Ministry of Grace in Sacrament or Absolution, as superhuman powers not delegated officially to priests' action, judgment, and words, but subjects of prayer from priest and people. This is not, however, so clear as not to give occasion still for something further on this main point.

Fellow-workers with God Christians are called to be, both in the salvation of their own souls and in that of others. Christian philosophy does not admit theories of mechanical causation attributing the springs of human action to impersonal force of circumstances. Nor does it admit the opposite extreme theory, in which Calvinism was driven to make God the sole agent in human life, as a Person handling men as He will, as creatures with no responsible choice, but set to execute prearranged movements under force. It is a moral philosophy, and regards man as moral in the philosophic sense of having personal character in free choice, with mixed motives, and powers of intellect and spirit and responsibility of will. It is, further, a religious philosophy, and regards man as having a sense of God, and a divine law of right action and feeling reflected in a conscience and in religious motives of faith and obedience. It is, then, a Christian philosophy, and regards Christians as men having special revelations appealing to hearts, moved by experiences or intellectual and moral influences, to form upon these revelations their religious ideas and obligations of Christian love, hope, and holiness, as inspired by the example of Christ's life, and enabled by the indwelling of the Holy Spirit. These Christian revelations are 'for us and for our salvation,' as men moral, intellectual, and spiritual, men of body, soul, and spirit, whose bodies influence and are influenced by the spirit in them, but who

are influenced by religious enlightenment spiritually, *i.e.*, by changes in mental ideas and moral feeling and choice. A new idea of spiritual enlightenment is taught Christians that Divine influence on men is brought by God's Holy Spirit, or Christ by the Holy Spirit, coming into them and dwelling in them. This is the special Christian idea of Divine influence or Grace. The Ministry of Grace is to promote this. We are called to be fellow-workers with God. He employs human agents.

The mystery of the special method of Grace revealed as a Divine Presence makes it not unnatural to shrink from analyzing the part possible for man as agent for it. Reverential mystery is not unnaturally cherished as a spiritual atmosphere about the offices of religion in which devotional sentiment grows in living freedom like the undefined power and truth of poetry and art, appealing for its witness to spiritual experiences and its harmony with the higher developments of humanity. But when the halo of sentiment is hardened by coarser statement into untrue substance, as bad artists materialize into untrue solidity the sun-glow which is the very life of the landscape, then false inferences compel distinctions and analysis to prevent practical untruths being raised upon illusions. And apart from any such necessity, any regulation of the ministry requires its purpose and methods to be formulated, and with that its possibilities and limitations.

It is so impossible for us to imagine a Personal Spiritual Presence that we are apt not to be content with our spiritual cognizance or its spiritual indications. We call, rightly enough, love, joy, peace, and the rest, 'fruits of the Spirit.' We think, rightly enough, of the Word of God as the Bible. But in the Christian philosophy of grace the Word is the mind or thought of God, and the Indwelling of Christ means that the thought or mind of God is in our mind, where souls are Christian by thinking and feeling the thoughts and feelings of Christ. We call the change of a soul to be thus Christian, the Indwelling of Christ, because that is what the New Testament calls it. We may feel it easier to say that Christ produces the good thoughts and feelings than that they are

Himself. But the Christian philosophy of the New Testament is that the change is His Presence.

In the Ministry of Grace the practical effect is the same. We may feel it easier to think of human agents promoting good thoughts than of their bringing Christ to a soul. And a great sound of difference may be made, as if one were objective and the other subjective. But for Ministers of Grace the fruit of their labours is to be seen in the change, whether it is the Presence or the fruit of the Presence; and the change of soul may be objective in the sense of being real, and yet subjective in its nature, as only existing, and only possible to be felt, in the mind and feeling. This transformation of souls to be Christian is their salvation. Salvation does not mean simply rescue from eternal punishment by an act of pardon, but raising and restoring the soul itself to its true, healthy soundness in the likeness of God by the change of corrupted thought and feeling to holiness. From this change, other blessings on its destiny follow; but it is by the healthy soundness communicated to the soul's life that it is saved—saved from the death of its true self in sin, and saved from God's displeasure against sin, but primarily made healthy in itself. That is its sanctification or making holy; that includes its justification or acceptance as forgiven; that is its atonement or reconciliation to God, in its nature being made one with Him. The Ministry of Grace is to aid in working out this salvation or change of souls from the diseased thoughts and feelings of their corrupted nature to the mind of Christ, in which they were created to be perfected. It is for this salvation of us men that the Creed declares that the Son of God, the Eternal Word or Mind of God, was Incarnate in Jesus Christ.

I believe that it has been a help to thinkers in the present generation of philosophy to have this Christian dogma of the Incarnation presented, not as words of technical Theology, as men say, but as an example of the creative law which science has constructed on a very broad and rough aspect of the successions marked in the records of Nature, and has called Evolution, or the gradual elevation of beings from simpler to

more complex existence, for which their simpler original was a natural stage of preparation in consistent development. This does not diminish the uniqueness of the One Incarnation, but presents it as the great consummation of man's nature, made in the image of God, but brought up for the first time to what that type contained in it by Christ's union of the divine and human natures. This gives what may be to many a new meaning to the New Testament phrases: 'When the fulness of the time was come, God sent forth His Son';* 'Having predestinated us to the adoption of children';† and the whole passage of the Epistle to the Ephesians, and even more the first chapter of the Epistle to the Colossians, which speak of God's purpose; 'Inherit the kingdom prepared for you from the foundation of the world';‡ 'He willed to generate us by the word of truth, that we might be a kind of first-fruits of His creatures';§ and other like passages.

A new era for humanity was begun when the Divine element, the Word, the Word of Truth, was embodied in it in the first complete example by the Incarnation. That Divine example will not be equalled by later specimens of the order of humanity then first brought into the world in the only begotten Son of God, but the type of humanity has been changed to a new order, which exists in its different degrees of nearness by possessing in different degrees that Divine element of new life which the Incarnation introduced. A new life, but a life of which man made in the image of God was created capable, as soul and spirit prepared at its creation to follow the law of its Creator and be changed from glory to glory by the Spirit of God. The new life so first exemplified is (we are taught) born again in a new birth by the Holy Spirit in Christians regenerated, howsoever their regeneration be made real to them. We call it Grace, or the Divine Life, or the Holy Spirit, or the Spirit or Presence of Christ. The phrases of Christian philosophy come from our Master Text-book, with varied aspects of the same power of life, the facts of which are witnessed by personal experience and effects felt in the world. The life-power of Grace works direct on some, as the sun and air and rain of heaven renew plants left to them alone.

* Gal. iv. 4. † Eph. i. 5. ‡ S. Matt. xxv. 34. § S. Jas. i. 18.

But it may be inspired, infected, engrafted, developed by a Ministry of grace planting, watering, engrafting by appointed methods, as man can minister and man can receive. What these methods should be and what are their limitations are the questions which determine the principles of ordination adopted by Churches. Our Ordinal is most solemn in its commission and charge to our priests to remember 'to how weighty an office and charge they are called: that is to say, to be messengers, watchmen, and stewards of the Lord; to teach, and to premonish, to feed and provide for the Lord's family; to seek for Christ's sheep that are dispersed abroad . . . that they may be saved through Christ for ever.' This is the keynote, not only of that great Exhortation, but of the most solemn prayer preceding the laying on of hands, which presents the Apostles, Prophets, Evangelists, Doctors, and Pastors as the same office and ministry pertaining to the salvation of souls to which these ordained priests are called. This solemn Exhortation and prayer interpret the words that accompany the laying on of hands on those that receive the priesthood. The recitation of our Lord's own words in His bestowal of the Holy Spirit on the Apostles with His promise of heavenly acceptance for their earthly ministry is applied to the office and work of a priest in the Church of God, which is to be the faithful dispensing of the Word of God and of the Holy Sacraments. This is the office for which authority is there given them in accord with the exhortation, which bade them pray earnestly for the Holy Spirit, while warning them that 'they cannot by any other means compass the doing of so weighty a work, pertaining to the salvation of man, but with doctrine and exhortation taken out of the Holy Scriptures, and with a life agreeable to the same.'

The gift of the Holy Spirit besought for the priest is not a superhuman power, constituting him a special order of being, with authority to work miracles, but a gift, a spiritual gift of spiritual power, 'according to the grace of God given by the effectual working of His power,' which made S. Paul a minister of the Gospel—grace to preach 'the unsearchable riches of Christ, and to make all men see what is the fellowship of the mystery which, from the beginning of the world,

hath been hid in God, who created all things by Jesus Christ.' This, S. Paul continues, was to the intent that now unto the 'powers in heavenly places might be known through the Church the manifold wisdom of God according to the eternal purpose which He purposed in Christ Jesus our Lord.' And this leads him to bow his knees to the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, that He would grant them, that they might be 'strengthened with power through His Spirit in the inner man, that Christ might dwell in their hearts through faith; to the end that they, being rooted and grounded in love, might be strong to apprehend with all saints what is the breadth and length, and depth and height, and to know the love of Christ which passeth knowledge, that they might be filled with all the fulness of God.'*

To speak of the mystery hidden in God from the beginning of the Creation by Christ Jesus, in the technical language of modern philosophy, as an Evolution will sound unspiritual at first, but to all who believe evolution in Nature to be the out-working of God's purposes of progress the greatest progress of the chiefest work of Creation will be no less great for being not against the law of the Creator's working. As God's workmanship created in Christ Jesus unto good works which God had before ordained that we should walk in them, man is quickened together with Christ, being saved by Grace, and made to sit in heavenly places with Christ Jesus.

The Ministry of Grace was to S. Paul to make all men know the unsearchable riches of Christ, the unimagined way whereby man, even dead in sins, was to be so quickened together with Christ, that they being strengthened with the Holy Spirit in the inner man, Christ might dwell in their hearts by faith, and they might know Christ's love as the saints know it, and so be filled with the fulness of God. The evolution of the old into the new man is the new birth of Christ's love by the Holy Spirit in hearts which apprehend it by faith. To apprehend Christ's love in their hearts is to be changed from the Order Man to the Order Christian. To make men apprehend it is to S. Paul the ministry of the grace by

* Eph. iii.

which we are saved. It is a strength worked in the inner man by the Holy Spirit through faith. It is S. Paul's glory to preach to the nations the riches of Christ. Our Ordinal sets before our priests the ministry of the Word of God and His Holy Sacraments. And they are at one in setting forth this mystery hid in God. The very meaning of the Sacraments is to be symbolic presentations of it—to preach Christ as the remission of sins, the new birth of Christian holiness, and as the love that passeth knowledge. Fellowship in this mystery is shown by the Church as it preaches down the ages the death of Christ in the memorial feast of the Eucharist. Sacraments are a special form (as S. Augustine says) of prayer, and also of preaching. But they do not differ as means of grace, except in form. They bring souls to knowledge of God and communion with Him, as souls are brought by subjective impressions and spiritual action.

The Ministry of Grace ministers to these subjective influences on souls. God works by human agents, in the whole world, in each soul, in the Church. But the world in which men are Ministers of Grace is the world of man, not of other things. Human agents are human agents. Their agency is distinguished from Divine or angelic agency by being human. Human agency is potent enough over the material world, but its potency is limited by the natural laws of man and things. The potency of that human agency over men is as different from its potency over other things as man differs from other things. But over man, too, human agency is human, and limited by that limitation. Moral, social, intellectual, religious influences of man on man are (we may say roughly) unlimited, except by the capacities in each case of the man to influence and the man to be influenced. Enlightenment by teaching, leading by example, attraction by sympathy, infection by feeling, inspiration by spirituality, stirring by energy, union by sociability, and so on, are human modes of influence exemplifying continually human agencies of fellow-workers with God. Through them Grace works by those already uplifted by Grace, and uplifts those less gifted. The Church represents a world of such influences, and forms the principal means of Grace by the multiplied co-operation of such gifted influences. The

Kingdom of Heaven is advanced by such human influences combining upon its weaker members. They give what they have received, and in passing on their light, they make their own lamps burn brighter, and by removing darkness as new spaces are lighted they multiply the lighting power of those already lighted. They are not the source of light, but they distribute it, they remove obstructions which shut it out, and they concentrate and intensify its action where needed. But we are not authorized to assert miracles or suppose human agency to be superhuman. Man is to bring man to God, not to be God to man.

PART III.—THE EFFECT OF CHURCH PARTIES ON THE MINISTRY

The century now closing has witnessed movements in the Church of England which those who know have called revivals, in the spiritual Cambridge Movement styled Evangelical, and in the ecclesiastical Oxford Movement called High Church. The latter has occupied the same part of the nineteenth century as was occupied in the eighteenth by the revival in the English Church called Methodism. Born at the date of the Reform Bill, the Oxford Movement was a reform agitation against the established apathy or content of prejudice and privilege in Churchmen, lay or clerical; and the contemporary ideas of political reform, by changing the outerness of State government rather than by inspiring it with innerness, appeared in the literary parallel of Church and State which marked the Oxford Movement, and which turned it rather to theories of Church government and usages than to the evangelical elevation of spirit in what existed. Similar conflicts about government have, during the same period, made Rome emphasize its principle of autocratic headship by decreeing Papal infallibility as its opposite remedy for all the faults, if any, that needed remedy. A Bishop of an unchanged diocesan Church system of independent Sees is tempted to compare the two novelties of the hundred-headed universal Bishop of the Methodist Conference and the Roman giant that has swallowed all its progeny. But

we have enough to do to look at home, and I shall only refer to these outside evolutions, if at all, as illustrations for Church problems of our own.

I believe that sons of both our English Church Movements of the century agree that from the time of the new ideas which produced the Reform Bill and the Oxford Movement, the Church of England has shown a marked improvement, from which no one would desire to go back to the preceding conditions, in order and reverence of worship, in sympathetic activity, social and philanthropic, of clergy and laity, and in general respect and regard of the people. The revival of inner spiritual earnestness and devotion due to the Evangelical Movement has been clothed by men of no less devotion with the outer dignities of Church principles and usages and adornment. *Mens sana in corpore sano* is a maxim of general application. Mind is more than body in religion, but a sound mind is happier in a corresponding body. The Oxford Movement began with the beautiful spirit of leaders like Keble, Moberly, Wordsworth, Marriott, Church (I speak of those whom I knew), full of the love of Jesus Christ as personally as the most devout Evangelical; and to them Church policy was not the human element which in others gravitated by ecclesiastical predispositions to the Roman system. The Word of God and the Holy Sacraments were to them 'Jesus Christ the same yesterday, to-day, and for ever,' in Whose Presence and by Whose Presence they lived their lives. Largeness of devotion made dignity of worship. No men ever were less ceremonial than the leaders of the movement which dignified our churches and worship.

Both Movements were academic, not in close correspondence with the clergy of the country. But it has been on the clergy of the country, not on the Universities, that in the next generation the combined influences of the two movements have made their mark. Possibly the well-intended system of making University men pursue a course of training at Theological Colleges before ordination has thrown the present generation into the hands of teachers who reflect not the present, but the previous, academic thought. Since the two

academic movements a change has come, mostly for the better, and yet one that suggests at times a doubt whether some good old English quality is not weakened, whether some good tough old fibre may not be refined away. I do not go back to the Middle Ages, though I love to read Chaucer's Parson's Tale, his own sermon set by him in contrast to his ecclesiastical persons—monke, frere, pardonere, etc. I love to think how, amid all that medievalism, the simple piety of this country 'persone' was to the courtier poet the representative of true religion, on whom he would not versify his jibes. Such parsons live and die in peak and plain, and satire does not mark their outlandishness in gay company, but respects them now, as then, as true men.

I go back sixty years, to the time when I reached those years of discretion which criticise their elders with more justice and freedom than do grown-up men. When I was a boy I knew many parsons of many sorts. Some farmed, some shot, some hunted, some did nothing—as some do now. No rule has no exceptions. We should not call them clerical in style; I dare say some were too much the reverse, and when they went to market, went to market. But for all that, they were men, most of them, and knew their men and went about with them, and were their parsons, did what their people wanted, and if they weren't above their circumstances, made the most of them and were happy in them. The English parson's speciality is to be among his people, not a monk or ecclesiastic isolated as part of systems having principles and interests 'not understood of the people.' Our clergy must be national, and linked (as they have always been) with civil order. They are the Nation's organ of religion, but as an organ of the national body, not as a regulator from outside. As I began by saying, we may have changed for the better in this century. The more advanced the people, the more needed are intellectual clergy; and if parsons can't farm or shoot much better than the Bishop, they may be clerical and yet be men, and better able to satisfy what their men want, if they are intellectual clergy. After all, it is not muscular capacity that makes the parson, great help as it is to sociable friendliness with men. And I know curates, like young

schoolmasters, may sometimes be unduly estimated by games in preference to intellect. But, be assured, our English parsons must not be ecclesiastics overmuch, either in town or country. English people cannot abide ecclesiasticism, and English parsons are for English people. Be clerical, most surely. Your good people will wish their clergy to be always clergy, and not affect to put away their office in lay society. Still, there is danger that, as the old ways ran into extremes, so may the new. I rejoice that there is less personal affectation of ecclesiasticism than twenty years ago. I rejoice to see manliness and freedom and Englishry the personal spirit of clergy generally.

Personal ecclesiasticism has nearly disappeared, as (to use a modern phrase) out of harmony with its environment. I have a great trust myself that in England artificial extravagances soon die out except under suppression. I attach value to the disuse of eccentricities generally, because I believe that the Church methods are most sound and healthy which are adapted to the men, and more particularly the men of settled age and principle. Children and young persons may be trained to conform to new ways in the next generation, but acceptance by the full-grown men is the test of genuine adoption without a breach. Absence of elderly men from Church and parish affairs is a matter of chief concern to clergy who consider their own flock, or the whole Church. My observations make me emphasize this as the point on which I am doubtful about our improvement. The grown men may claim not to be sacrificed or disregarded, and methods adapted to their use cannot be called obsolete.

Different as the two academic Movements were in their particular aims and principles, the influence of them both depended on a common power, distinct from their principles. The Cambridge Movement revived the prophetic spirit of enthusiasm, separation from the world, personal devotion, and particular use of Scripture and preaching. The Oxford Movement revived ideas of Church corporate existence and purpose, of order, authority, and discipline, of dignity and beauty in buildings and services, of the prominence of the Sacraments among means of grace. The one had affinities with Puritan

individualism, the other with Roman ecclesiasticism. But their power to affect English religion and the English Church was the same in both ; not the ideas with which both startled their times, but their personal earnestness, holiness, activity, and self-sacrifice.

Those Christian graces are in their manifestation a true means of grace, which the world recognises and regards, and even when it resents the intrusion of ideas which upset the world's habits, yet it will support with good English conscience men doing their duty and setting true examples before others. So even in desolate places priests who, in the spirit of their pastoral commission, never cease their labour, care, and diligence until they have done all that in them lies to bring home those committed to their charge, are seen to be doing their bounden duty, and have in their Commission a passport which carries respect for all, even for the inexperienced, who are wholesome and goodly examples for the people to follow. The ordinary man feels instinctively reality in Christian character and duty, and the atmosphere of its unconscious infection spreads a sense of Christian influence more really conducive to the salvation of man than any particular theories, however true. Our Church is severe in simplicity and its freedom from the uses and phrases and mannerisms which so easily take the place of the one thing needful in professions of religion in more artificial systems. It simply calls its ministers to go in and out among the people committed to their charge with earnest conviction of the truths they teach, and with innocency of life, that both by word and good example they may serve their office faithfully. This is the hardness of their office : that it lives under God's blessing and gifts on the one human thing needful, personal reality in devotion and holiness. Ministers felt to be thus true men may say and do what they like in things felt to be of minor consequence in them in comparison. It does not follow that people accept or understand particular schools' theories, but the Gospel which lies beneath in goodness and truth can carry a good deal. Without that underlying Gospel, theories are to the people husks of no account, and, whether in sanctimonious professions or ecclesiastical claims, alienate instead

of attracting the broad-minded religion of English Churchmen.

Parties and movements are not the Church, but growths in it, which live by the good in them, and when that is absorbed into the Church, or passes from healthiness to excess, their life for good is over, and they are absorbed into the Church or separate. The people of the Church are slow to change even for the better, but it is a delusion to expect a movement to absorb the Church. The Church is not the clergy, but the people; and it judges movements, but does not obey them. The English Reformation was the assertion of this, and restored the nation to its part in the Church. Subsequent generations have continually made the lay people better able to take their part in Church questions. They are better able to absorb new principles thereby and admit Church reforms; but they do not as a people show any sign of abandoning the two principles, that the clergy are not the sole channels of Grace, nor are commissioned to be the sole regulators of all that belongs to religion.

The powers given by law to the ministers of the National Church are rightly to be claimed, and it is our wisdom to establish the constitutional position assigned to the clergy, and on that to develop the activities suited to the progressive opportunities of the Country. It is our wisdom to accept the world-envied advantages of our National Church, and strengthen our working power by constitutional reforms producible by free discussion, rather than to alienate trust and goodwill by claims and ideas not recognised by the Church and Nation. Appeals for Constitutional powers and reforms may unite effectively not clergy only, but lay Churchmen of all shades of opinion; and statesmen who are not Churchmen have become more and more ready to recognise the justice and wisdom of giving so great a National Institution its fullest powers of constitutional development in loyalty to its national principles.

The two academic revivals of this century have both exemplified how hard extremists find it not to desert on one side or the other, but their main bodies have as yet escaped the plunge into secession which ended last century's Church revival in Methodism.

I will ask you to consider for one moment the formation of the disruptions, which we are apt to denounce implacably, and which Roman writers still maintain can only be prevented by their policy of suppression of thought and conscience, forgetting that that very principle has in past times caused not inconsiderable disruptions. Disruptions result from good religious societies, formed as small circles in sympathy, to promote some idea felt to be neglected in a careless Church. Puritan assurance of exclusive election to sainthood is the extreme form, but a form not limited to one school of theology. Some may have known inner circles, of 'hearts of each other sure,' for extempore prayer-meetings, some for particular rules and times of Holy Communion, some for missions, others for other causes, all to warm indifference to enthusiasm, or, at least, to enjoy in some seasons the happiness of complete sympathy. These peaceful good beginnings deepen the special idea into exaggerated prominence, and the inner sympathy creates outer repulsion against the unsympathetic. It seems impossible to go on long without some mechanical spirit destroying the fluidity of sympathy in feeling by wanting to organize for some action. 'We must do something. Let us make rules, let us elect members, let us have a name and programme.' So the inner circle becomes a society, and in the second generation lives, not for sympathy, but for opposition. Then comes impatience at checks, and coldness, and disappointments, and good people convinced of their ideas resent the hesitation of the unconvinced world, or still more of established authority, and the society becomes a faction. Then at last comes some personal temper, or jealousy, or ambition, and these are the general determinants of actual disruption. There may be cause, there may be sufficient cause, for revolt and separation. But personal impatience tempted to disruption is the very spirit of schism. Church and Dissent may be alike narrow, and all parties are. Catholic-mindedness is the opposite to party exclusiveness. I believe that we all agree that Union with Christ is holiness and the temper and life of Christ. Our systems are means, not ends; and the Church works by holiness in the Spirit of Christ.

It is easy to form a sect, very hard to dissolve it, and when personal interests are established, impossible. I concur with those Bishops who have regretted each and every separation from the National Church, and desire to bear in mind the lessons of the past in any crisis that threatens disruption. But those whom I am addressing will not, I think, consider all the fault of those separations to belong to the Church, but will say that those who went out were the actual separatists. They had their dissatisfactions, they thought themselves in the right, they justified separation. I have never been able to agree that they did right. In a position said to involve a choice between two evils, I hold that men should choose neither. They had not to acquiesce in faults, but either to make good their plea and reform, or to see their mistake and conform.

But at this moment I am only using the formation of the sect (in the sense of a following of a particular teacher) as example that assertion of claims which cannot be admitted nor yet withdrawn when once made are the causes of unintended disruptions. It may be true in the Catholic-minded grasp of the Universal Church of the future, of which all Bodies will be separate items, that undiluted tenets of uncompromising communities may enrich with its strongest elements the ultimate resultant Truth, but at the time schism is disastrous to both sides. Of Methodism in particular, I believe the special tenet of insistence on spiritual life to be the element now, as then, needing revival in us; but, speaking simply of the disruption, I feel First, that their spiritual prophesying could have been kept on a higher general level within the Church; and Second, that the disruption has been a conspicuous weakening of the religious force in all public questions, when a united Church would have had a power against evil, which good people have cancelled out by divisions. I do not think it a fact in the case of Methodism that the Church drove the seceders out, still less the Bishops, who desired to encourage their preachers. But that only makes theirs a more complete example First, how easily an unintended disruption may come to pass almost unaware; and Second, that points on which good men secede impatiently may be felt

afterwards to deserve more sympathetic recognition than was accorded to them.

Reunion ought always to be the intention of parties within the Body, and the object of all discussion among the members of a Body is to produce reunion. Patience and sympathy make the temper of discussion hopeful for success in that object. I trust that the extremists on both sides among us have learnt the lessons of the former movements, and that, however decided in conviction and strong in advocacy men on each side of the discussion may be, they will be unlikely to repeat the mistakes which they have condemned in others. Reunion of Bodies once actually separated is very hard, though the two unions impending or actual at this time prevent its being called impossible. Reunion with other Churches is, apparently, now wisely postponed by Churchmen keen for it to reunion among ourselves. I hope there may be something in the Conference proposed for it.* Conferences cannot be relied upon with more certainty than arbitrations, but I believe in open discussion if the parties engaged are qualified by temper, knowledge, and responsibility. If the Board be composed like Parliamentary Committees, six of one side and half a dozen of the other, the talk ought to convey enlightenment, and produce silent if not expressed impressions, which may influence absent friends afterwards. If it were a Conference for making a verdict by votes, there would not be so much sense in such a Board as in one of intelligent neutrals, with adequately representative advocates. But a Round Table Conference between leaders of both our chief opposed schools of thought has in it, at least, possibilities enough to be an interest and pleasure to those who desire reunion.

It is impossible to be sanguine in hoping that differences existing in experts' opinions in matters involving earnest pre-suppositions of many absent people will be removed in happy mutual understanding. But statements with their reasons will reach a wide circle of people who wish to know, and to whom it will be a refreshing novelty 'to hear the other side.' The points selected for discussion signify as much as the

* Fulham Round Table Conference under Bishop Creighton, 1900.

Board. But the Bishop who undertakes that is sure to select points involving principles of wide application, and it may come to pass that the presuppositions, on which the main differences rest, may be really argued as far as points so largely resting on sentiment can be brought to issue. It is patent that the main difficulty of our Church discussions is that each side reads the Organs which express their own previous ideas, and does not read those which present the opposite ones; and open discussion in Organs belonging to neither party (as I am obliged to call the supporters of distinctive Organs) is disliked for its independence in appeal to the main body of the nation, who wish to hear both sides. Conflict is aggravated by extremist advocates intensifying, not only their arguments, but their dislikes.

Meanwhile, Party Government is not the recognised or desirable principle of Church Rule. The practical reasons which have made it the best machinery for State Government, in which the two ideas of change and preservation are always there, while the special applications are always shifting, and the reference to the whole body is periodical, are not true of Church parties. Party organizations become more and more developed, as they will always be while secretarial office and influence are enjoyed. But the legislature of the Church cannot be divided on party lines without contradicting its whole spirit. One party organization necessitates another, and the moving spirits are spirits of division, the extremist agitators on both sides. One result is that no Church Reform is considered on any ground of fitness, but only on the forecast of the movement how it would affect party influence. In the face of party organs, party agitators, party friends, it is a great deal to expect from a Round Table Conference that leaders will be led to reconsider any previous expressions of opinion which have been made party cries. If it is much to expect, let us hope.

But, meanwhile, mutual understanding need not begin with the leaders. Our Ruridecanal and Diocesan Conferences may set up Round Tables, too, in the provinces, and bring mutual understanding down from the heart of the body to the tips of its fingers and toes. And even before the range of ruridecanal debate be approached, the still more real and essential range

of mutual understanding among individuals is open. I regret when I hear that men will not attend ruridecanal meetings because they will be in a minority. Absence does not increase the minority, or get a cause heard. But I regret much more when I hear that men of the different schools won't know one another, and that a new member of a town clergy may be left a stranger in isolation on mere presupposition that his views are doubtful. We need some spiritual antiseptic against the germs of misunderstanding and mistrust which seem to grow in ecclesiastical air, when the fresh air of Christian brotherhood is poisoned by organisms. We must throw open the windows of our hearts to Christian light and air. Truth is not all on one side.

It is not unreasonable, before we can expect reunion with other bodies, that we should be expected to be at unity with ourselves. It is clear that proffers of reunion with others, on one side or the other, cause tension among our own members in the opposite direction. If we all knew the strength of our Church position, which has in it the capacity for being the centre of future Reformations in other Bodies, we should so control our individualities and subordinate our liberty to the general action of the whole Body as to strengthen progress in concert, and not distract the main advance by contrary movements or withdrawals, like undisciplined clans fighting each for its own hand. There is no hindrance worse than that of having to rescue ill-considered operations from untenable positions. It is the old difficulty. To put life or keep life progressive in existing methods is not so easy or attractive to most men as to develop novelties. Our English Church *Via Media* is the truest and therefore the best, but it is also the hardest in its simple perseverance and lack of show. If our prophetic School does not seem to command the rising abilities of the Universities now, that is (if I may say so without offence) because, in falling into line, as it has done, it has become negative in the loss of the enthusiasm which was its inspiration. It is the display of initiativeness in self-denying activity, rather than the distinctive ideas, which enlists the energy of the livelier recruits on the side of the Oxford Move-

ment in its later development. Some extravagances have caused natural abuse, but they have also warned those nearest to them; and I do not myself doubt for a moment that the forces which seemed fetching rather too wide a compass are falling into line with the main body as a stronger attack on the enemy than contrariant plans could give. We want the enthusiasm and devotion which, rather than their distinctive ideas, has been the life of both Schools, and we want it in both Schools at once at their best.

If in the primitive Church the prophet and presbyter were, as some say now, offices combined in the same person, that may be the more excellent way. The Church needs apostles, prophets, evangelists, pastors, and teachers, who have in all ages been the soul of Church revivals. The presupposition that submission to rule and order is a higher spiritual gift than enthusiasm, which gives trouble, is one of the deadening ideas of the Church. The office and gift of preacher and teacher need revival more than ever to stir indifference and satisfy intelligence not yet prepared to surrender themselves to deep mysteries. This office and gift are not confined to addresses in church or school, but include what is as high and sacred a ministry of the Word, the learning which establishes truth by writings and the meditation which inspires devotional sentiment, to both of which I feel called to exhort the clergy.

The offices of the Church have, from the first beginnings of our Church, been ministered by Bishops, priests, and deacons, as our Ordinal says and all our formularies witness. But our Ordinal does not say they were the only primitive officers, but in comparing our priests to those whom Christ 'gave for His Church,' prophets, evangelists, pastors, and teachers, it presents those offices and duties and gifts as the primitive types of Ministry to be their examples. It is a legitimate satisfaction that through our Church's history no minister of it has been ordained by any but fully constituted authority of Bishops in continuous succession. For our Church it may be said without dispute that Bishops are an essential part of its constitution; for its whole character was based on episcopacy from the first, and without it no one

disputes that its form would be essentially different. Priests were continued by our Reformers, not in name only, but in the idea then well known, though their office was modified by the reforms in worship and doctrine which our Church judges to be the truth. Their character belongs to their commission given in the Ordinal, which no more makes them clergy of Greek or Latin Churches than of Lutheran or Puritan. The historical uncertainties of primitive Church originals make it untrue and unwise to stake Church authority or the essential Ministry of Grace upon assertions that Christ commanded for ever our particular form of ministry, or limited the Ministry of Grace to an unbroken personal transmission. But in our Church that ministry has always existed, and their transmission of Orders has been unbroken.

No Church, I believe, would at the present day pronounce everyone outside its own Communion to be thereby outside of the pale of salvation, or venture to assert that it alone possessed the Ministry of Grace. It is for each Church to be satisfied in its conscience that it has all essential conditions, but it has no concern to pronounce upon other Bodies. Each Church will have much that it will not venture to call essential, and which it would, nevertheless, refuse to give up. Many things will contribute to make a system the best, without which there might yet be enough. Without calling such contributing parts essential or of Divine obligation, a Church would properly refuse to give them up—at least, without more reason than that some other Bodies have them not. The English Church is not only the Mother Church to many Churches over the world, but is also our National Church among a number of offshoots, parted from it each by its own reasons, but all professing to fight under the banner of the same Lord and Master, and against the same spiritual enemies. For the English Church it is, I am convinced, the only true course worthy of our duty, that we shall, for the sake of all, maintain unimpaired the very highest conditions we have before us for the most perfect Church system and the most undoubted Ministry of Grace.

PART IV.—SACRAMENTAL GRACE

I have been speaking of men as fellow-workers with God and one another in the Ministry of the Gospel, which is the Ministry of Grace for men's salvation. The all-including earthly instrument of grace is the Church, Christ's instrument to diffuse, intensify, minister, and exemplify the Gospel in its new principles of worship and life. And in the Church special instruments are provided in the ministry, set to give their lives to spread the Gospel, to lead its worship, and to be examples of its life, with different offices or functions in which they are to represent the Church, to assist, not to supersede, the Ministry of Grace committed to the whole body, every member of which has offices and functions to discharge for it.

I pass now to speak of the Ministry of Grace in its particular department of Worship, as a means of grace—*i.e.*, as affecting men's souls with religious spirit. I distinguish this aspect of it, because that is what I am considering. But I will, in passing, observe that Worship is truly enough distinguished from other spiritual methods of influencing men's souls, preaching, example, etc., in that those others are directed solely to that purpose, whereas Worship influences souls most effectively when its intention is to honour God, and not primarily, or, indeed, at all in purpose, to save souls. Worship raises souls by turning them away from thinking of themselves and their salvation, and lifting them up out of themselves to commune with God. Still, it is not only a Christian duty and an outpouring of Christian life, but it is also a means of grace, and as such its principles must be in accord with the general teaching of the New Testament as to the methods or mode of spiritual influences by grace. That teaching must determine the right regulation of the Ministry of Grace.

The mode of spiritual influence by grace which we are taught by our Lord is not that God takes certain qualities out of some heavenly stores and gives them as presents, as you give good gifts out of cupboards to your children, but it is that Christ and the Holy Spirit dwell in believers' hearts

and change them by spiritual union of God's spirit with man's spirit. 'The Father will send you another Comforter, that He may abide with you for ever, even the Spirit of truth. . . . Ye know Him, for He dwelleth with you, and shall be in you.' 'I will come to you. . . . At that day ye shall know that I am in My Father, and ye in Me, and I in you.' 'If a man love Me, he will keep My words; and My Father will love him, and We will come unto him and make Our abode with him.*' The conditions, we may say, or rather, way, to this union is to know and to love Him, and that is to keep His Word, and to keep His Commandments. S. Paul claims to have this union. 'I am crucified with Christ, nevertheless I live, yet not I, but Christ liveth in me; and the life which I now live in the flesh, I live by the faith of the Son of God, who loved me, and gave Himself for me.†' It is necessary to lay hold of this basal principle of the operation of grace, as the influence of Spirit on spirit, if our ministry is to use aright its means of grace. S. Paul teaches us this personal union of Christ with the believer as his theory of Christian grace throughout his writings.

The growth in grace which marks the progress of this union of the soul with Christ is advanced by all things through which the soul becomes conformed to the mind of Christ—obedience, study of the Word, subduing the body, meditation on Christ's life and teaching, and all else whereby the knowledge and love of Christ increase, which our Lord in S. John makes the way to His indwelling. Thoughts, feelings, will, are our mind, and it is in our thoughts, feelings, will, that our mind is made the Mind of Christ. Truth, faith, understanding, charity, holiness, unworldliness, obedience, self-control, devotion may represent the Christian graces of thought, feeling, and will, and be the measure of our growth in grace which is the union with the Mind of Christ. Whatever influence increases these graces may be rightly called means of grace, and it is reasonable that some souls may be more influenced by better knowledge, some by better action, some by better aims and motives. All such influences are means of grace to souls influenced by them. To

* S. John xiv.

† Gal. ii. 20.

souls uninfluenced by them they are not. Not that they are less real and true themselves, but that the souls are less impressible.

We are in the habit of speaking of devotional exercises in prayer and praise and Sacraments as distinctively and primarily '*the Means of Grace.*' They are at any rate a most important class of means of grace, and it is of them that I propose specially to speak now. The first point, then, to keep in mind about them is the spiritual character of their working as means of grace which is a work of Spirit on spirit. Origen said, very early, '*The Spirit cannot join Itself to things which have not spirit and intelligence.*'* Its effects are not on body, except by secondary action through mind and spirit. Its effects are very real, and form a living power outside of and distinct from ourselves, though the fruits by which we measure it are perceived within ourselves. The fruits of the Spirit are feelings not natural to our infirmities, but grown by grace: love, joy, peace, etc. If we look for other fruits than growth of such Christian feelings, we are liable to form imaginations less spiritual, less lofty and Christian, than fruits in the heart, even though those who imagine them may think there is some special greatness in their imagination.

The outward rites of the Sacraments are more liable to this mistake than the purely mental or spiritual worship of prayer and praise in words. Of Sacraments, therefore, even more than of simpler means of grace, we must bear in mind the spiritual operation and effects of means of grace, even in the more elaborate outward action of the sacramental rites.

Sacraments are in form what I may call '*acted parables,*' services or rites representative of truths distinct from the rites themselves, with motives which work on the believer's heart the grace appointed, in devotion, enlightenment, purpose, holiness. A parable presents a spiritual truth, which is not the parable, but to which the parable has a likeness, and so conveys an impression of it. The Parable of the Sower says, '*The seed is the Word,*' but no one fails to understand at once that that does not mean that the seed

* '*De Principiis,*' I., iii. 5.

and the Word are one and the same thing, but that the seed in the parable stands in the place of the Word in the truth represented. The Word is a true reality, and the parable represents truths about it; but it is not part of the parable itself, but only represented by it. A Sacrament is not in words only, but in an actual representation. It signifies, not a truth of knowledge, but an operation of grace, represented by the action of the rite, and to be appropriated by the faithful partaker. As the seed and the Word are distinct things, so in the Sacrament are the sign and thing signified distinct things, not the one a *part* of the other, but the one represented by the other. To regard them as united is, our Article says, to destroy the nature of a Sacrament. In our Catechism the inward part is explained to mean the thing signified or represented, the spiritual grace of which the sign is called a means and a pledge. The sign represents, does not contain, the inner meaning or thing signified.

A Sacrament is a particular form of prayer, as S. Augustine says: 'Its efficacy is by prayer, for a Sacrament is a particular kind of prayer.'* It is prayer, pointed, directed, aided, vivified, by an ordained action appropriate to its ideas, and representing the operation of its spiritual grace. The acts of Baptism figure the cleansing of the soul by the Holy Spirit. In the Lord's Supper the great double truth was set as one in the earliest days, the union of the Church as the Body of Christ, by all partaking of His Sacramental Body and Blood to the strengthening and refreshing of their souls. The sacramental mode presented by the Catechism is this: As the worshipper takes and receives in bodily hand and mouth the bread and wine given by the priest in remembrance of the stupendous Sacrifice upon the cross, of which the Sacrament is memorial, so with that bodily act the believer's soul stretches out its spiritual hand to take and receive, as given by Christ, the spiritual grace of union with Christ's Spirit, which ancient Fathers say is the true feeding on His Body and Blood. The gift is very real to the faithful who really believe in the stupendous Sacrifice on the cross, and who in their faith and thanksgiving set their hearts to live on

* See above, p. 244.

that Sacrifice as their spirit and life. Christ is really present at their worship. His promise, that 'where two or three are gathered together in My name, there am I in the midst of them,'* was a promise appropriated in the earliest days to the assemblies for Communion, by giving these assemblies the name *σύναξις*, or 'gathering together,' to remind the Church of that promise of Christ's Presence with them when gathered together so specially in His Name.

That Presence we are taught to believe and trust as a Real Personal Presence of Christ in Divine Spiritual Person. That Spiritual Presence of Himself at our worship is His Real Presence, so earnestly and in this sense truly claimed for our worship: real, if we accept our Lord's teaching, and objective, if we will use that puzzling word, which means that it is the independent Presence of a Spirit which is not merely our own thought or imagination, but a Power and Life influencing us from without. It may help us to attach meaning to this teaching if we think of the influence which one man's mind often has on another man's mind, putting its thoughts into his, and changing the mind influenced to be more and more the same as the mind that influences. The influencing mind is that of another person from the mind influenced, though its influence is only felt and measured by its operation in the mind influenced. That is what I may with reverence call the *natural* operation of spiritual influence in the working of all powers in the real, though unseen, spiritual world, of the Supreme as truly as of the human. Most real, believers in spiritual religion hold, and though unseen, not unfelt by believers.

It is here that error or exaggeration have always had to be guarded against, when teachers are tempted to harden into untrue literalness the meaning of words which can only ever be parables of spiritual things beyond our sight. They desire to impress their people by some lower literalness calculated to create superstitious reverence for material things in place of the spiritual truths which their people feel unmeaning and unreal. Such superstitions have always been meant well, as steps to higher apprehension, but they have often descended

* S. Matt. xviii. 20.

to satisfy still lower forms of ignorance by such palpable untruths as pretended miracles, such as bleeding wafers and the like, passing further and further away from the spiritual realities. This tendency, which has existed in all religions in dark ages, has to be borne in mind. But this is not the account of the mistaken teaching about a Real Presence of Christ's human Body in the sacramental elements. We know the beginning of that teaching centuries after Christ; we know how much and how long it was disputed; we know that it belonged to the particular philosophy about nature in general invented at that time by the so-called Schoolmen. Evolution in our own days exemplifies how a philosophic theory sweeps everything into it; and so scholastic philosophy was naturally applied to theology, and made the ingenious account of a Real Presence in the bread, which was called Transubstantiation. That scholastic theory of substances is now exploded, and its account of the Sacrament falls with it.

It was an ingenious theory, but, unhappily, it altered, perhaps unconsciously, the idea of the place in the Sacrament belonging to the elements. From being symbols or signs representative of the Lord's Spiritual Body, as the first ages held, they came to be regarded in the scholastic theory as an outside containing that Body as their inside part. And this unprimitive idea of the relation between the outward and inward parts of the Sacrament, which supposes some form of Christ's Body to be attached to the material bread by its consecration, is the idea now called by many the doctrine of the Real Presence. I have dwelt on what I believe to be the primitive doctrine of the Real Presence, that our Lord is present really in Spiritual Person at our worship, to unite Himself to the hearts of the faithful. In such mysteries we must follow the teaching we have; our belief must interpret that teaching by our best religious reason, but the teaching must be our ultimate basis, for we can have no test to analyze the Spirit's unseen workings. Still, Reason cannot but ask, 'Is not the Personal Spiritual Presence of Christ with us, and offering to be in us, spirit with spirit, a more reasonable and, at the same time, *higher* doctrine for spiritual religion?' We may ask, 'What do you mean by the Body of Christ, that you can speak of

literally and apart from His living self, as able to be brought down by a priest's miraculous act in consecration ?' We must ask over again the many old questions which casuistry never answered about the consecrated bread when eaten by the wicked, when become mouldy, when eaten by animals, and the like. But I do not desire to disparage others' theories further than to claim for our English and primitive sacramental teaching that it is a doctrine of higher and more spiritual Real Presence than the medieval and Roman. With the history of that medieval doctrine clearly in our hands, I say that only misreading the testimony of the Fathers lends to it a false appearance of having their authority.

Literalness in application of Scripture language has not made any teacher in the world maintain that the natural human flesh and blood in which our Lord walked on earth is eaten in the Sacrament. And yet everything short of this is figurative, as such spiritual teaching must be. The ancient Fathers, amid their ecstatic exaggerations of rhetoric about the dignity of the Sacrament and the ministry, yet are every one of them careful to interpose at one time or another prosaic matter-of-fact checks and corrections of that rhetoric, with the distinct purpose of guarding against misinterpretation. Those distinct corrections are the prose statements of their real theory, and any one such statement by a writer must be taken to interpret all the rhetoric which he needs not again to qualify. Type, figure, symbol, image, sign, anti-type, are used as familiar forms of teaching that the consecrated elements were not identified by the Fathers with what they symbolized, but were considered representative of it. Dr. Pusey quotes forty pages of examples*—*e.g.*, Tertullian: 'He said, "This is My Body," that is, the figure of My Body.' S. Augustine: 'The feast in which He commended and delivered to His disciples the *figure* of His own Body and Blood'; and, 'The Lord hesitated not to say, "This is My Body," when He gave a *sign* of His Body.' 'These things are called Sacraments, because in them one thing is seen, another understood.' S. Chrysostom, the most rhetorical of all, uses repeatedly the word 'symbols': 'The priest only

* 'Doctrine of the Real Presence,' pp. 77, 107, 109, etc. Oxford, 1855.

performs a *symbol*.' Writer after writer, in one or other of the terms named, makes it clear that the sign was not to be supposed to be made *to be* or *to contain* the thing signified, but to represent it to the worshipper's mind. Christ's promise assures us that the thing signified, His Spiritual Presence, is really in the midst of us. His ordained sign, the consecrated elements, is a pledge of His promise, and the reception of the sign in remembrance of Him with faith and thanksgiving is a means whereby we receive that inward spiritual grace of His indwelling, which is spoken of in the figure of eating His Body and Blood.

The rhetoric of the primitive writers is in substance no more than our own preachers would say to-day with all their hearts to the faithful who draw near with full assurance of faith to the Holy Sacrament, 'Look, my brother, at Christ's appointed emblems of the Sacrament. See not mere bread and wine. See with your heart's eye that upper chamber, that last Paschal feast, that institution of the Christian Service in remembrance of the great final sacrifice. See beyond this the end, the great Sacrifice upon the cross for us men and for our salvation: the most awful and tremendous Sacrifice, of which this Sacrament is the memorial, pleading it before God, and preaching it through all the ages to man until He comes again. See this, my brother—for this is what it is before you to set forth, no less than this—not with your bodily eye in fleshy substance, but with your mind's eye in the spiritual reality of all its memory, all its motives, all its example.'

Wherein is that bread and wine the sign of the inward spiritual grace of the Sacrament? It is no picture portrait likeness of Himself that Christ left us, lest (as an old council says) men should be led to worship that, but a token, a love token, of the spirit of the great Sacrifice, which it foretold. That Sacrifice on the cross can never be repeated; it was one oblation once offered; but the spirit of that one great Sacrifice is the ever-repeated inward grace signified by this sacramental sign. Feed in your heart by faith with thanksgiving on this spirit of loving sacrifice, and you will feed on the Spirit of Christ, which is Himself. The service is most truly called

oblationary—*i.e.*, a service of offering, an offering not only of prayers, which are the power of Sacraments, but offering of our goods, even if our trifling gifts poorly represent the old contributions for the Church; offerings of worship, of praise, and thanksgiving; offering of ourselves, our spirits, souls, and bodies, as living sacrifices of our lives in likeness of the spirit of sacrifice which the Sacrament was instituted to commemorate, and which it ever pleads. Those are the characters of this Service in which it is special among Christian services of prayer, and praise, and teaching—special in its thoughts and memories, special in its motives and purpose, special in its resolutions and spirit, special in its promises of blessing worked in the faithful by this special worship in its special thoughts, and promises, and prayers, its offerings, its unity, its devotion.

Some may still think a special miracle more adequate for this special service. Men used to think earthly phenomena more worthily accounted for by intervention than by laws of Providence. Riper judgment will feel that there is no wonder in the world greater than the Divine Presence always with us in our worship, and working spiritual no less than earthly effects proportioned to their antecedents. I have spoken of a real difference between two schools of thought about the mode of the Sacramental Presence. Real as it is, it is very narrow in its range compared with the differences existing quite lately before men faced the issues of discussion.

No one regards the Holy Communion as a mere commemoration of an historical event, with no thought of prayer and praise and grace attached to it. No one believes its blessing to come to unfaithful receivers, without prepared hearts and belief. No one supposes the minister's character or intention to make or mar its efficacy. No one doubts that the faithful receive grace really in their worship, and receive it from God. No one disputes that Communion is not only a means of grace to individual souls, but a pledge of unity in the Church. No one would dare to call himself 'a bread worshipper,' but no one would fail to show to the elements consecrated as instruments of so great a mystery the solemn reverence due to sacred things.

I return to my first words. Worship uplifts by raising from self to God, and grace comes in it to souls not seeking grace or thinking of self, but carried by devotion to higher spiritual unearthliness. I desire to speak for a moment more particularly in this respect of the aspect of the Holy Communion which has excited most controversy, from false presentation of it, but which closer and more thoughtful attention has now shaped (or perhaps I should say elucidated) in a form which has always underlain the most spiritual doctrine of the Sacrament; I mean the aspect of it as a Sacrifice.

Leading Church thinkers who insist most earnestly on this aspect of the Sacrament as a Sacrifice mean thereby to teach that most evangelical of doctrines—that Christ is ever at the right hand of God, making intercession for us; and, as the Seer in the Apocalypse saw the Lamb ‘as it had been slain’ ever presenting Himself, so the one Sacrifice once offered on the cross as the consummation of His life of sacrifice is not repeated, but eternally continued in Christ’s eternal life of reconciliation. But the Church, one with Christ as the Church is, cannot thus incessantly continue, but must repeatedly renew its union with Christ in that eternal offering or Sacrifice, by seeking again and again to plead and present that Sacramental Memorial, which is the spiritual offering of the Eucharist. To take its part in this Spiritual Memorial by offering its sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving, and of spirit, soul, and body, is the Church’s *Koinwía*, its Communion, its participation in Christ’s sacrifice, which is symbolized by repeated communion in the feast which represents that sacrifice, but in which there is no participation but by real union in the spirit of self-sacrifice which is the uniting Spirit of Christ.

Nothing can be more spiritual and evangelical than this idea of sacrifice in the Eucharist, which contradicts entirely the medieval Roman teaching which appeared to be revived among us—that the Mass repeated the death of Christ, that it was a complete propitiatory sacrifice independent of that offered by Christ, that it was effectual by its mere performance, and that it was for all post-baptismal sin what Christ’s death was for original sin. This idea of independent and mechanical efficacy of the Sacrament as a proper sacrifice

carrying atonement in itself, and exaggerated both in its necessity and in the nature of its repeated sacrifice, is the teaching rejected by our Reformers and refused in present controversies against Eucharistic sacrifice. It is untrue to say that such medieval Roman ideas have not been taught again. But if it is understood and meant that Eucharistic sacrifice means that in the Eucharist the Church throws itself each time in spirit into Christ's perpetual offering of Himself to the Father in His eternal self-sacrifice, that spiritual teaching may end the controversy caused by the unfortunate verbal ambiguity contained in the word 'sacrifice.'

Such an idea of sacrifice is the counterpart, not the contradiction, of Communion. Communion, as I have just said, does not mean simply partaking of the elements, but partaking of them as symbols, and accepting thereby the Spirit represented in their memorial. The writers who most ably maintain the idea of sacrifice are also earnest in maintaining the Church as the source of the priest's authority delegated for his office, and in that principle the Church is behind the priest, who rests upon it. Communion is not made by priest without Church. The priest is not complete without the congregation or Church, nor the congregation without the priest. The dignity of the chief mystery has its appointed officer to act in it, but he must have the Church with him to represent as its leader. The partaking of the elements is symbolic, and means the recipient's actual choice to take up his part in the spirit of the Liturgy, as taking up Christ's cross in spirit. Half-heartedness does not partake. Historically, it was against all early Church principle for any who could not partake to be present, or for any who were present not to partake. That was anathema. When numbers became overwhelming, the difficulty prevailed. The Roman Church did not choose as a more excellent way to break all the old Canons, but yielded to human infirmities on both sides. Then theories were found to make it good. I do not care to discuss that. My point is, that if the Eucharist is a sacrifice, it is not the priest's but the Church's sacrifice, which has no proper meaning or life without the assembly of the Church. Our own Liturgy marks the intention of our Church in this as clearly

as did the ancient Canons. None of its prayers have their meaning except as implying a present body of communicants. It is perfectly true that non-communicants may join in the prayers, and even thereby declare that it is in prayers, not in the elements, that sacramental Communion exists. But they do these two things: they stop short of their own act of *Koinonía*, and they revive the medieval error that the Sacrament is simply an official operation of the priest.

I shall not dwell on this, for I wish to spend my few remaining minutes in dealing briefly in outline with the book which (so far as I can learn) is still the authority for the particular doctrine of the Sacrament, which has in these years been pressed upon the Church: I mean Dr. Pusey's 'Doctrine of the Real Presence.' I have before stated how the Real Presence of Christ Himself in a spiritual and heavenly manner in the Sacrament is taught by our Church. Dr. Pusey means not the Real Presence of Christ Himself in the Sacrament, but the Real Presence of Christ's Body in the Elements. Such mysteries must rest on authority, and Dr. Pusey's book is a collection of all the patristic authority that had been found, and is held to be so complete a demonstration that no one need go beyond it. I accept it as all that can be said. The structure of the book is simple. Its beginning is a refutation of Transubstantiation; its ending is his proof of his own view.

The argumentative part contains three main positions on which his argument turns: (1) It is an acknowledged principle that miracles are not to be needlessly multiplied; (2) no sacramental power can be supposed to have come into existence in after times which has not existed from the first; (3) Christ did not say figuratively, 'This is My Body.' The first two are Dr. Pusey's destructive reasons against Transubstantiation, and are reasons requiring no discussion from me.

But the third position on which really the question turns—viz., that Christ did not say in figure, 'This is My Body'—is entirely inverted by Dr. Pusey when he discusses Transubstantiation. There he not only examines the proper meaning of the Scripture terms relied upon for that doctrine, but chiefly dwells on the leading Fathers' statements that Christ *did* speak

those words in figure. He shows conclusively that by their applications of the terms 'type,' 'sign,' 'image,' 'symbol,' 'anti-type,' etc., to those words, the chief Fathers precluded all reference to their authority as supporting Transubstantiation; and our Church assents to his contention that Eucharistic doctrine cannot be made independently of the primitive authorities, as well as to his contention that miracles are not to be assumed without reason or authority. He says that the terms 'type,' etc., were used as almost a technical language by minds of every character. But when Dr. Pusey comes to his own view he both confuses the issue and misplaces the Fathers' authority. His view differs from the Roman, but does not differ in the points affected by his reasons and quotations. His view involves a physical miracle as much as the Roman, and is in no less contradiction to his quotations from the Fathers. But these quotations are not repeated in full by him in his argument for his own view. Reference is made to them all, enough for expert readers. But the references stand as if they were so many more passages, beside what he adds to them in favour of his view, when they are really as distinctly in contradiction to his own view as they are to Transubstantiation. Without them it is natural enough to take many of the rhetorical passages quoted by him to support his view, but that is no longer reasonable when they are qualified, as they are in every Father's case, by prose matter of fact explanations that they used the words of Christ figuratively, as Christ used them Himself.

Let me repeat some examples. He quotes Tertullian: 'He made that His own Body, saying, "This is My Body," *that is, the figure of My Body*' (p. 77). And, again: 'He gave the bread to be a figure of His Body, as the meaning of, *He called bread His Body*' (p. 97). He quotes Eusebius: 'He Himself delivered the symbols of the Divine dispensation to His own disciples, bidding them *make the image of His own Body*' (p. 98). 'Since He no longer admitted the bloody sacrifices, He ordained that they should use bread *as the symbol of His own Body*' (*ibid.*). And, again: 'Having received that we ought to celebrate the memory of this sacrifice (of the cross) on the table through the symbols of His Body and

saving Blood, we are taught to say, "Thou hast prepared a table before us (p. 99)." He quotes S. Macarius: 'In the Church bread and wine are offered an anti-type of His Flesh and Blood, and they who partake of the visible bread spiritually eat the flesh of the Lord' (p. 104). He quotes S. Augustine: 'He delivered to His disciples the figure of His own Body and Blood'; and, again: '*The Lord hesitated not to say, "This is My Body, when He gave a sign of His Body"*' (pp. 107-108). It is S. Augustine's characteristic of Sacraments, that the likeness makes the sign be called by the name of the thing signified.* This Bede is quoted as retaining: 'He gave in place of the flesh and blood of the lamb, the Sacrament of His own Flesh and Blood in the figure of bread and wine.'† These quotations are some of Dr. Pusey's own, and it is strange that they are not brought into the chapter which deals with the particular point, that the words were not metaphor.

I will add one or two, for special reasons, from Dr. Pusey's notes.

S. Ambrose says: 'After the consecration the Body *is signified*'—i.e., (Dr. Pusey explains), 'denoted by the *sign*' (p. 104). And his imitator, in *De Sacramentis*, quotes the form of consecration: 'Hear what the words are the priest says, Make to us this oblation availing, valid, reason, acceptable, which *is* the figure of the Body and Blood of our Lord Jesus Christ.' This, Dr. Pusey points out, 'occupies the same place as the words in the old Roman Missal, *Ut nobis fiat Corpus et Sanguis*' (p. 105).

S. Cyril of Jerusalem says: 'In the *type* of bread is given to thee His Body.' We are bidden to taste, not bread and wine, but the *antitype* of the Body and Blood of Christ.' Dr. Pusey says: 'In like manner he had called "oil" in confirmation "the antitype" of the Holy Ghost, and said that baptism was "the antitype" of Christ's sufferings' (p. 101)—in neither of which uses could antitype mean more than representative symbol.

S. Gregory of Nyssa: 'But we, who have learned from the holy voice that "Except a man be born again of water and of the Spirit, he cannot enter into the Kingdom of God," and that "he that eateth My Flesh and drinketh My Blood shall

* 'Ad Bonif.,' Ep. XCVIII. 9.

† 'In Luc.,' XXII.

live for ever," we believe that the mystery of Godliness has its validity in the confession of the Holy Names, I mean of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, and that our salvation is strengthened by participation in the mystical rites and *symbols*' (p. 107).

S. Augustine: 'And did all drink the same spiritual drink.' They one thing, we another; but other only in the visible object (*specie*), which, however, should signify this same thing in its spiritual virtue' (p. 108).

It is true that elsewhere Dr. Pusey, confronted with the difficulty, says offhand: 'Of course, the spiritual gift is conveyed differently in baptism.' But on what grounds he says so, or what is the difference, he leaves unsaid. In these passages, Baptism, Confirmation, and the Eucharist are treated as like one another in being signs signifying or denoting spiritual virtue. And the old Roman Missal in its prayer, *Ut nobis fiat*, following the *De Sacramentis*, 'make to us,' presents the natural understanding of the word 'become' in this reference that it meant sacramentally—*i.e.*, subjectively—as a spiritual virtue apprehended by the soul in faithful reception of the symbol. These passages must be taken, as I have said, to interpret more rhetorical and less carefully expressed passages of the same writers.

It is the same with our own writers, who are, however, not in the same position of authority, writing as they did, not as telling primitive teaching, but as in the midst of controversies of their day. One principle will, I presume, be admitted by all—*viz.*, that of Bishop Horsley, that 'the sense in which our Lord Himself said the bread and wine were His Body and Blood' is the one sole thing to determine the sense in which the Church can say it.

The passages quoted from Caroline writers using the words 'become' and 'be made' must, as well as the Fathers, be interpreted by this to mean 'become *to us*.'

I will not dwell longer on the words. But it would misrepresent the Fathers if we supposed them to mean the words to be poetical metaphor. By symbol, sign, pledge, etc., they mean that Christ appointed the elements to be symbolic or representative tokens to recall His Presence—a token, not in portrait of human likeness lest (as the Second Council of

Constantinople* said) His memorial should cause idolatry, but a *σύμβολον* or concerted token to be the pledge of His Presence, not His Presence itself.

It is a main argument of Dr. Pusey's against Transubstantiation that the change ascribed to Consecration is not physical but sacramental, not in the elements, but in their spiritual efficacy as a means of grace. This is the very distinction maintained against Dr. Pusey's view by the received English Church teaching. Dr. Pusey makes consecration change the elements themselves by attaching to them the Body and Blood of Christ; our Church teaches a sacramental change, which makes the elements no longer mere bread and wine, but representative symbols carrying all the thoughts and spiritual associations belonging to Christ's Body and Blood, and offered as their representative embodiment. As means of grace the symbols work subjectively on the soul of the faithful worshipper. On what Dr. Pusey teaches that they work as means of grace is not clear.

Discussion has reduced to very small dimensions in words the differences between the two schools of Church thought. But in reality they differ in that one regards the Sacrament to be the human performance of a physical miracle, the other regards it as a means of grace working spiritual influence on the soul which receives by faith the Real Presence of Christ.

I trust the time may be near when reverence and real consideration may bridge this difference, and make the Holy Communion again, not symbol only, but means of one communion and fellowship for all Christians.

PART V.—THE SPIRITUAL CHURCH

I want to-day to speak of the Church as a Spiritual Body of Christians, to be advanced by spirit more than system. It is curious, in looking back to my Primary Charge, to see how little Church Reform 'bulked' at that date. Disestablishment is less now on people's tongues, either within or without our Church. Reform is to anticipate revolution.† That is most

* A.D. 553.

† Convocations Bill of 1900 (embodying constitutional Church reform).

wise, and general assent to it is hopeful. I do not disparage it when I say reform must depend upon its aims. Church reformers have been engaged in constructing paper constitutions for the Church, and in so doing have drawn attention to some theories for more satisfactory Church government, but it is not clear whether their aim is spiritual or ecclesiastical, whether it is to make the nation more Christian or to satisfy some cravings for part in Church management. There is no great upheaval of national feeling showing the interest in the Church that might be wished and be of real meaning. It is not great religious objects pressing for development and waiting for a new system to be possible that are presented in reform discussions, where the really big national sentiments, which might create an upheaval, are diverted to some minor forms of clergy discontent with their share in government. And even then it is only too apparent that men's minds are set, as in State parties, on prospecting what effect a proposal would have on their own particular Church views.

It almost seems as if the one object were not to develop and inspire a great instrument of holiness, but to transfer the Church to a party government by the majority of all the clergy; to change machinery, not to inspire life into what exists. Now, whether our Church executive should be a *Senatus*, a body of selected elders, or an *ἐκκλησία*, or general assembly, is a very reasonable question, but its size is, I think, scarcely realized. It might raise one of the big national sentiments of which I spoke, and so become capable of revolutions in bigger ways than its words sound. It may mean the very point that I am raising myself now. But it hardly seems to contemplate that. The debates sound as if the question of monarchy, oligarchy, and democracy, which is in all ages and places the government question, was a question of different grades of clergy, to whom alone it is assumed that all government belongs, while all others are, as it were, *Uitlanders*. But a democratic Church Reform Bill will not be made to give franchise to younger against older clergy, but to give it to the whole body of the Church. That body will no more accept the rule of party government in an uncontrolled Church Parliament than it was ready to accept a

disestablished clergy in uncontrolled possession of our Church revenues.

Improve executive Church machinery in all ways by all means, but don't be blind enough to dream of a revolution to establish uncontrolled clerical oligarchy. Enlist true men and women, not for party, but for Christ's work in the Church. Inspire Church machinery with power and love and virtue-making, and make the whole Body a living united instrument of holiness, as Christ made His Church to be, and when that spiritual life is felt in its true strength, you can modify its machinery if the body care to do so.

THE LAITY IN CHURCH GOVERNMENT.

I desire to present to both clergy and laity the part now constitutionally belonging to the laity in the Church executive. The principal point (and, it may be felt, their most satisfactory method of influencing Church government) is the appointment of the Bishops, made, as it always has been and is, by the Crown, and made through the head of the Government who represents the Nation. In this way the Bishop is chosen by the laity, more reasonably than by the officers who are to work with him, not for themselves, but for the people. The laity have in this way a main part in the central direction of Church system, without intermeddling with the Ministry itself. Selection of men to meet the special complexities of each appointment is what such public leaders can do best. It does not touch the spiritual office in its committal or its performance afterwards, which is as rightly independent of all but its laws, as all parts of chief command ought to be, for the work's sake. But the choice of men is wisely in the hands of the chief public authority. It is the fault of laymen, not of the Bishops or clergy, if the Bishops selected are not the best that can be got.

Then, the laity have, of course, their power in Parliament to make laws. The difficulties attached by this to Church improvement by legislation are obvious, though I do not feel sure that Churchmen have always balanced them fairly. At this time I am disposed to believe that, if Churchmen agreed upon Church legislation, which they could show to be im-

provement for Church usefulness and not inequitable, there is a feeling that such legislation ought not to be thwarted on other motives. But much as there is to be said on this, it is not my present subject. The present facts are familiar. But Church reformers' constitutions are first directed to this well-known difficulty, and imply some Church layman substitute either as part of Convocation or somewhere else. When I read them, I wonder whether they are really meant; I don't mean in honesty, but in preparedness of imagination or understanding. As I have already said, no such merely consultative council as the present Houses of Laymen are to Convocation could ever take the place of Parliamentary control. Definitions of powers committed to the Spirituality (to use the Reformation phrase), and of the control of the whole body, would necessarily be made. But in no reform of the National Church will any law ever provide that the settlement or the ultimate acceptance of main system and principles shall rest with the clergy apart from the laity.

I do not doubt that this is clear enough, but I do doubt whether it is really intended. I look near home to see people's meaning. Diocesan Conference and Council are, like the Houses of Laymen, excellent consultative bodies, but not professed to have powers beyond advice. I look straight to the parish. That is where lay part in government would be effective. But I do not find evidence in my own Diocese that it is generally adopted. There are a certain number of Church councils in Derbyshire and Nottinghamshire parishes. They are chiefly in the large towns: in Derby in nearly all the parishes, in Nottingham in two-thirds. I am told that in the few cases where they are really strong realities they have done the secular work continuously with ability. Unless they have real charge, my experience does not assure me that the clergyman is so relieved as to be free to devote himself to spiritual work without being required to take a main part in 'serving tables.' Ideally, Church Councils ought to do that, but they can rarely attend to Church business as to their own, and are easily led to call it the parson's business, and in doing it to do it as to oblige him, not as their own claim and duty. I think the men of a parish have a duty and a claim to share in the

Church business, and if they did not give unmitigated assistance, their part and the recognition of their part in it would make them feel the Church their Church, the strength of which would be as much and more their concern than that of chapels to their managers. Our busy village workers might not desire more frequent meetings for Church Councils than they desire for civil Parish Councils. But that is not it. The recognition that the men of a parish have a claim and duty to take part in Church business, and a voice, when there is occasion, in saying what the parish feels and needs, goes further to make a parish Church than doing things better without them. My present subject, however, is that Church reformers' constitutions begin on the basis of Church Councils in parishes, and until those councils are more really adopted as our parish system I shall doubt the reality of Church reform constitutions and their acceptance by the clergy.

However, when I urged that the first thing is to enlist men and women, for the work's sake and their souls' sakes, I was not thinking of government, nor even much of their 'serving tables.' I was thinking of their lay part in spiritual missions and ministering in the moral and social well-being of their community. I may sound to use stilted language if I apply to this duty the high-sounding name of the Priesthood of the Laity. But such work is really sacrifice for souls, and beside the largest Church principle implied in the name, of which I have spoken elsewhere, the Priesthood of the Laity means, not only their direct personal access to God, but their duty of Christian help to others. And I cannot say too solemnly of all Christian work for the salvation of man—body, soul, or spirit—that, as chiefly for the priest, so for every man in his proportion of influence, the one thing needful is personal consecration of himself.

Enlist true men and women for Church work, for the work's sake, but more for their souls' sakes.

Christian work is not limited to organizations—certainly not. 'Organize, organize, organize!' is an excellent cry for any definite purpose definitely in people's minds. But even then the use is to create spirit and will by some activity. For

larger and for more distant prospects of advance, 'Inspire, inspire, inspire!' is the prior cry.

This brings me back to the larger Church topic with which I began—the Church as a spiritual body of Christians to be advanced by spirit, not by system. Organization, I have said, is not inspiration—inspiration is an end, organization only means. 'To bring the Spirit of Christ into hearts, to cry, "Abba, Father,"' is the end of our Ministry of Grace. Our offices are means thereto. Christ came, we all say, to make a Church. But not as an artistic model of constitution-making, but as a community power for truth and holiness. I began to-day by saying that the Church, into which true men and women are enlisted, is only secondarily a system, and Church system may have specific varieties, and has had varied definition, but the primary or generic nature of the Church is to be composed of Christian people.

THE HOLY CATHOLIC CHURCH AND PARTICULAR CHURCHES.

There is a Spiritual Catholic Church, of which Christ is the only Head, and is its Head on earth as well as in heaven, and rules all the members by His personal Presence. But this spiritual Church has no universal earthly organization by officers for itself, apart from those of particular Churches. I am not concerned now with the nature, or even with the fact, of the specific characteristics which have from the death of Stephen differentiated the Church of Jerusalem into Churches of Jew and Gentile, of Europe, Asia, and Africa, of separate cities and countries. They have never been joined under one earthly government. The nearest approach to such union has been their occasional participation in Œcumenical Councils, to which Emperors called representatives from the separate Churches. But these did not constitute even a federation, but were more like such congresses of independent States as Europe has seen in great crises.

Behind the separate Churches that were organized severally, stands as their background the universal spiritual communion of Christians, the Holy Catholic Church, very real and living, only not so by organization. There is no organization of the Holy Catholic Church apart from that of the separate

Churches. If men speak of the Holy Catholic Church as an organized institution with an executive competent to establish laws, customs, and doctrines by some constitutional Church government, they have to say where it is, what constitutes it, how it acts, and who are its executives. Let them take some custom which they consider Catholic as an example on which to show what constitutes the authority for it, and what force it has, and how it acquired that. The Holy Catholic Church is very real, but quite a different thing. It is the Church of all Christians, membership in which is not membership of an association, but is by kinship in Christ's Spirit. The holy are its members, those in whom spiritual life has not only been sown, but lives, and is actual. This is the Church to which Christ's promises belong. Separate, distant, different as its members are and must be in this world, their brotherhood, united by the Common Spirit of Christ, is the living Church, the real working Christian power.

But this does not correspond to the idea of the Churchmen who are pronouncing the question of the Holy Catholic Church to be the crucial question of this time. They ought to be able to define their meaning, but it is kept in the haze of doubt whether they are thinking of the Papal scheme of Innocent III., or whether they mean an abstract frame of rules to limit what can be called a Church or Churches, or whether they mean the sum of all existing Churches, the congregations of Christians, nominal as well as real, throughout the world. Do they mean that the first ages of the Church received or settled by common consent a Church model binding on us all for ever, and that all rules and customs are to be referred to such a primitive model? Or do they mean a particular medieval period of development supposed to have had world-wide consent? Or do they mean simply Christianity? That was given certainly by Christ, not by earthly power or wisdom; and has laws from Christ, which may claim obedience 'as to God and not to man,' in a way not true of any other, even Apostolic constitutions or customs. Violations of laws given by Christ have in all ages and Churches bound Christian consciences to resist them. But before any constitutions or customs or rules or ceremonial can be counted laws given by

Christ, and so binding against established ordinances, their claim requires proof. If it is said that that is settled by the Catholic Church, we come back to the question, What is the Catholic Church, and how does it settle?

Looking, however, to the kind of occasions on which practical reference is made to the authority of the Catholic Church, I cannot help thinking that what is meant is simply that other Churches have customs which some members of our Church would like, and that they agree that our Church ought to consider whether such customs of other Churches might not well be adopted, as good things existing in Christ's Church, which is not limited to any one Church, whether English or other. That is reasonable enough, but it would be more reasonably argued on the ground that a custom was good than that others use it, and a custom cannot be called Catholic while our Communion forms so large an exception to its catholicity.

To return. The Holy Catholic Church is most real in its highest sense of Christ's Church of true Christians, the saints in each body, who are not further organized into an earthly society. It is reasonable in a lower sense to call the sum of all organized Churches the Catholic Church, though they, again, are no more organized into one earthly society. It is a logical reality to call the Catholic Church the abstract genus or class of Body which has the qualities held to constitute a Church. But in no sense are there Catholics simply who do not belong to a particular Church, any more than there are any animals simply which are not so as being cows, horses, dogs, or some other species. Members of particular Churches are thereby members of the Church of God, and priests of particular Churches are thereby priests of the Church of God; but there is no Church of God organized as an Institution, including and distinct from particular Churches.

I am speaking now of facts, not of words or theories.

Church organizations are schools to grow or engraft Christians, and in whatever way those entrusted with them can make them best nurseries for the spiritual Church, their duty is to perfect them, by prescribed order if they know, or by

historic examples, or by experience and faith in God's guidance; but their end and object is their fruit of good Christians. By order, by system, by officers, a Church does its function; but only if it is alive, not otherwise. It is only alive so far as it is a body of good Christians. History witnesses that a Church may have a system of perfect power, and yet its blindness make that system only a power of evil. Brotherhood without system may be shapelessly helpless, and yet may be Christian and living and work holiness. And in the mixed imperfect Churches which exist, it is the saints in them who congregate by affinity, who leaven the lump according to their proportion—nay, far beyond. They keep the system alive, under God's help, by personal consecration.

This Church of Saints or true Christians throughout the world is called an unreality, an idea, an abstraction, an invisible Church. My object is to combat this mistake. This spiritual Church is the one united Christian Body. It is no abstract idea, but a real living agency of true men and women, enlisted in Church work, living, thinking, and acting in very real co-operation and united purpose. It is not invisible, but is manifest to all who have sense to see; and even the unsympathetic world recognises a true Christian, and, where the leaven has spread to many hearts, recognises a true Church. The spiritual Church is no unprincipled congeries of atoms, no unconnected multitude of lawless individuals. It is the one body that lives by a law that cannot be broken—the law of Christ in their hearts, so sure that it seems automatic, so essential that without it the saints would not be saints or belong to this Church of Christian affinity. Their law is, I need not say, the model of humanity set in the life of Christ, which to saints possessed with His Spirit is perfect freedom, though it is higher, more pervading, more imperious, than any secular code or Œcumenical Church constitution. Their law is their second nature, whereby without rules or organization the brotherhood cannot but work together. These saints are Christ's working Church, by their holiness, not by organization. It works by spirit and truth, and prevails as much in spite of organization as by its help. Christianity lives and spreads, not by system, but by holiness. Church

work is to promote the worship and glory of God, to deepen Christ's Spirit in self and neighbour, and to spread the Gospel to the world. Where Church work is done and Christianity prevails, it is by the goodness of good Christians, and Churches that rest on other marks lose their character and make methods hindrances.

Do not mistake me. A living Church needs officers for its corporate functions, and joint worship has its appointed ministers, and their office of ambassadors does not depend on personal character for the ratification of God's covenants with faithful worshippers: the best people need the priest's service, which in turn needs the people's. That is not my present subject. But two parishes have exactly the same system, with the same constituted authority; and the parish system may be light in one, and darkness in the other. And yet, in spite of that, saints may be there, and live and prevail. In a parish people don't worship as parishioners, but as Christians—many parishioners don't. It is not the parishioners that do loving acts of mercy—many parishioners don't; but the Christians. The Christians live godly lives, but as Christians, not as parishioners, who often don't. Some to whom the parish is naught live godly and love mercy, and are Christians, as many of the parish are not. The parish is a good instrument, but only so far as it is Christian. Put this into common words, and it all comes to this: Good people make others good even without system; bad people don't make others good even with good system. Good Christians who are good on Christian principles and ideas make others believe these Christian principles and ideas, without teaching them or being able to argue them; bad Christians who profess Christian ideas and don't practise them prevent others from believing them.

Powers promised to the Church are promised for the extension of the Kingdom of God and of heaven, and the Church to which they are given is the Church that can and does extend it. The good people who do, make others good. That there are good people always making others good on Christian principles is a fact not invisible to any but the utterly unsympathizing; nor will any others dispute that they do so on no

compulsion but their assured faith in the truth of those principles, and that they obey those principles more than any law of man could make them. They are endued with power from on high in the union of their spirit with the Spirit of Christ. I do not now speak of theory, how the Kingdom *ought* to be extended, but simply of the fact how it *is* extended. The first spread of Christianity was due to the lives of which men said, 'See how these Christians love one another,' and the last spread and every spread between will be due to such Christian lives. Enlist true men and women. That is the parish system—to be a centre of attraction to all the Christians to draw together and inspire one another, and those who are not yet with them, by infection of the Spirit given them. It is a power for deepening and concentrating Christian spirit in devotion and activities. If it do not so, where one Christian is, he will perforce preach the Gospel, warn and teach those in reach, by example and by counsel. Affinity will draw together those in sympathy, and though without the power of Church system, they will do real work for the Church of God, and will co-operate, though not organized. They are the elements of the true Church of Christ.

They cannot be unmixed in this earthly time of schooling, which is addressed to enlighten and change the world to be the Kingdom of the Lord. Exclusion by discipline is not its method. There will be tares manifest enough to remove rightly—and our Church directs excommunication of notorious sinners, who are a just scandal. But Christ warns that human judgment is too fallible to be trusted to judge; and history confirms that warning by records of excommunications and inquisitions turned, not to sin, but to ecclesiastical offences or errors, and executing wrong judgment, not for righteousness, but for power. Puritan bodies have desired to form Churches of saints by exclusiveness; and in those bodies (as in all bodies, and, we feel sure, not least in our own) have been saints (who does not know some?) of whom every Christian would say, *Cum talis sis utinam noster esses* (Would you were with us!). But is it true that those bodies have been unmixedly Christian, in the weightier matters of the law, in honesty in business, purity in domestic life, mercy to those in

their power? or has their religion itself been more free from thoughts of self and the world? Who is to exclude? is the question of such discipline. I look in vain to history and experience for evidence that Roman or Puritan discipline has made such Churches of saints as to justify revival of the idea of securing holiness by ecclesiastical discipline.

Enlist true men and women for Church work, but realize that Church work is chiefly in the weightier matters of the law, which are taught and impressed by life and example more than words or rules. Our Government preaches Christianity in a country like India more effectively by exemplifying the fruits of Christianity in the spirit of law and administration, by justice and mercy and truth, by governing, not for self-interest, but for the country, than by enforcing its tenets. So is Church work done and Church principle taught and impressed better by lay Churchmen showing its Christian power in their lives and their dealings with their neighbours and their discharge of the duties of their station, whatever it be, than by making Church systems. Of all forms of ecclesiastical exclusion from the Church, there is none more to be deprecated in the name of wisdom and charity and Churchmanship than that of alienating from the use of the helps provided by our Church system, by want of considerateness for the religious knowledge, feelings, and habits of the people themselves. Inspire by generosity, inspire by earnestness, but realize that it is all the People, not an exclusive few, that are to be inspired; and to be inspired, not with exclusive ideas, but with Christian religion. To engraft a tree you do not root it up first.

Our earthly Churches, Greek, Latin, English, American, and the rest, are, I say, seminaries for the Universal Church, which is the Kingdom of Heaven. The background of those Churches is the purpose expressed in our Ordinal: to gather together a great flock in all parts of the world to set forth the eternal praise of God's holy Name. As schools desire pupils for their material, but are not estimated by their number of pupils, but by those whom they fit for the University in which their separate sources disappear, so are our Churches to be measured by those whom they make members of the Congre-

gation of Christian men throughout the world, which is the Holy Catholic Church. Reform, as well as you can, the system of our Churches for this great purpose of training Christians. Reform with real interest, every one of you. All systems live by reforms. But reform for the true purpose. Reform not to make an artistic paper constitution, but to make Christians. Reform to make open and living the channels of Grace intended in Church systems. Covet earnestly the best forms—and yet show I unto you a more excellent way: Follow after Charity and desire what is spiritual. The outerment (to use that conceit) is not so much as the innerment. I say Reform will not inspire. Change of machinery is no substitute for putting spirit into what we have. Church Reform is spirituality and charity—to make men of God, to make Christians, and to make them at unity with one another.

THE FIFTH CHARGE

REASONABLE SERVICE

AN UNFINISHED CHARGE INTENDED TO BE DELIVERED AT THE
SYNOD SUMMONED TO MEET AT THE CATHEDRAL
CHURCH OF SOUTHWELL, JUNE 30, 1904, BEING THE TWENTY-
FIRST YEAR OF THE BISHOP'S CONSECRATION.

The following pages were published after the Bishop's death, August 30, 1904, from the manuscripts which he had left unfinished at the beginning of the illness which proved to be fatal. They are fragmentary; they had not had the benefit of his last revision, and parts of them might have been rewritten had he lived. They must not be considered to have the same authority as the Charges which he finished and himself published. While they represent his mind in general, it would be manifestly unfair to lay stress on unrevised details.

PART I.—WORSHIP

WHEN I became Bishop, twenty years ago, I was instructed by my learned predecessor, Bishop Wordsworth,* that diocesan Bishops should summon their diocesan clergy to Synods according to ancient and unaltered prescription. Acting on that revered authority, and having the example of the Synod held at Lichfield in 1884, I met my assembled clergy for the first time in 1885 in a Synod† expressly informal, as not claiming to revive legislative powers without revived national authorization, but, nevertheless, expressly consultative as promulgating to an advisory council worthy of recognition several important proposals on which the clergy were asked to give their judgment. Several special services were accepted for

* Christopher Wordsworth, D.D., Bishop of Lincoln. Nottinghamshire was previously in the Lincoln Diocese.

† See Preface.

consecrations, institutions, and difficult cases of burials, and the Synod revived the consecration of burial-grounds, which Bishop Wordsworth had given up. Organization for Church Defence and Instruction was initiated. But the one proposal of all that were discussed which has since been adopted and made law was declined—viz., the special standing jury for the Clergy Discipline Act. Again, after the Lambeth Conference of 1888 I called a Synod* to receive the resolutions of that Conference, and obtained its acceptance of them. In 1897 the Church Congress, held at Nottingham in the autumn after the next Lambeth Conference, prevented a Synod from being called. Questions have been raised about the legality and authority of diocesan Synods; but they do not affect this Visitation Synod, which remains the occasion undisputed by lawyers, clergy, or Parliament, as retaining the full powers of the Bishop. It is my office to make pronouncements with authority, but it is my desire to ask your opinion and advice.

* * * * *

Here the Bishop spoke of the changes among the clergy, and of the growth of unity between the two counties of Nottinghamshire and Derbyshire, since his first Synod of 1885. He gave a summary of the Church restorations and building, of the increase in the number of services, and of the comparative statistics of confirmations during the twenty years of the existence of the Diocese. He then referred to the present condition of recruiting for the ministry, and to the great change in the last half-century in the attention of the clergy to the social needs of their people, and spoke of the diocesan development of temperance and recreative parish organizations, and of various branches of woman's work, and of the lead the clergy gave in many parishes to these varied efforts. He said:

Such organizations are sometimes spoken of as not the clergyman's business, but where they are developed, in town or country, Church services and sermons have no more living auxiliaries in leading generations *παραστήσαι τὰ σώματα θυσίαν ζῶσαν ἁγίαν εὐάρεστον τῷ θεῷ, τὴν λογικὴν λατρείαν αὐτῶν.*†

* See Preface and p. 37.

† 'To present your bodies a living sacrifice, holy, acceptable to God, which is your reasonable service' (Rom. xii. 1).

I entitled my last Charge 'Spiritual Ministry,' the key to my present one is 'Reasonable Service,' as the translation still retained in the Revised Version of λογικὴ λατρεία, which means 'worship that befits reason,' that belongs to thought or mind, or that Christian intelligence reflecting the Divine Word which is the organ or seat of that faith which S. Paul preaches as the life and power of Christian service—the worship of Christian intelligence, which was from the first to supersede the Jewish system of observances and rules, and the Greek, of sensuous excitement. To sing and pray with understanding as well as spirit is S. Paul's statement. To worship in spirit and in truth—*i.e.*, in reality—is our Lord's. In the worship of life or action the reality of the worshipper's co-operation is essential. In teaching, dogma must be distinct and intelligible in its meaning. The operations of supernatural power will pass understanding and imagination, but that is a different point. A dogma must have a complete meaning in its statement. The opposites to these requirements of λογικὴ λατρεία seem to be—(1) Revivals of obligations by precept or precedent, not profit; (2) Detachment of worship from intelligence; (3) Confusion of doctrines by ambiguous or incomplete statements. My three examples shall be Fasting Communion, Confirmation,* the Eucharist.

THE EUCHARIST.

Of all forms of worship the Sacramental form is by its nature most specially referred to mind or reason. Its nature is to present to the worshipper an appropriate likeness to the grace sought in it, which should appeal to his thoughts, and create in them the Christian ideas and feelings which the rite represents, and work on him through his mind. The symbols of the Eucharist present two Christian thoughts: First, the soul's need of spiritual food and sustenance; and, second that that is to be found in the memory and teaching of the last scenes and lessons of Christ represented in the Eucharist. In the believer's devout and earnest meditations on those scenes and lessons, so represented to be his example and spirit, the rite and symbol work the spirit of that example into his heart,

* No manuscript of the Confirmation Section can be found.

and change him to have the mind of Christ. The power of the rite works through the λογικὴ λατρεία of the worshipper's earnest faith in that great and consummating act of sacrificial worship, which in each Communion the worshipper preaches down the ages. Communion in that great Christian memory and in the thanksgiving for the great redemption of Christ makes one heart and one mind in the Christian body, whose thankful remembrance of His death makes all feed on Him in their hearts by faith with thanksgiving.

You will remember that this is Origen's* 'deeper' than the older ignorant interpretation of John vi., which a logical reader cannot doubt. Reason cannot take the hard sayings by which Christ raised the multitude from the bodily food of the miracle to higher thoughts of heavenly food, speaking in metaphors referring at once to the miracle and the Passover whither they were bent, without considering Christ's own concluding explanation, in which the meaning of the discourse lies. Christ says: If you suppose Me to speak of My bodily flesh and blood as your food when I ascend to heaven, you will see that I cannot mean that. Besides, what profit could there be in eating My flesh? It is the λόγος, the word, the thought, the mind, which I speak to you: that is spirit and life—the flesh profiteth nothing. Christ interprets the parable which the circumstances had suggested, and the parable is merged into the explanation.

So likewise the Fathers used in their rhetorical preachings the figures of speech which are familiar to us, yet everyone distinctly called them figurative. I dealt with this in my last Charge,† and shall now only repeat that all the principal Fathers have said that the terms were used figuratively by Christ—as symbol, type, sign, form, likeness, figure—as, *e.g.*, S. Augustine says: 'He delivered to His disciples the figure of His own Body and Blood'; and again: 'The Lord hesitated not to say, "This is My Body" when He gave a sign of His Body.' It is S. Augustine's characteristic of Sacraments that 'the likeness makes the sign be called by the name of the thing signified.'‡ I quoted last time no less clear words

* In Johan. Comment., xxxii. 16. † See above, pp. 270, 271.

‡ Ad. Bonif. Ep. xcvi.

of Tertullian, Eusebius, Ambrose, Cyril, Gregory of Nyssa, and others. The last book on the subject* admits all these instances, but maintains that the unqualified rhetoric of other passages is not to be interpreted by these plain statements of their real views, the argument being that one who reads the Fathers enough forgets their explanation.

When it is said that symbol was also the thing signified, the example from Ambrose† scarcely holds good when he says the Jews had the shadow, the Christian the symbol, Heaven the reality. The Catechism teaches that the thing signified in the Eucharist is the Body and Blood of Christ really taken and received. So teach the Fathers. So we teach. But *λογικὴ λατρεία* asks, What Body? And the Catechism says, An inward and spiritual grace given us, as our Lord teaches in John vi. But modern tenets (which others with more claim to speak say are inspired by the modern dominant section of Roman theologians, and seemingly used to deny qualifications of words felt to have plain meaning) reaffirm that in the Eucharist the true Body of Christ is sacrificed, in the brutal sense of the monster word remactation, as propitiation for sins. In reply *λογικὴ λατρεία* asks, What Body so suffers? In what sense is the Eucharist a Sacrifice?

Do not think that I desire definitions. The writer to whom I have referred says quite rightly that the first centuries talked familiarly and untechnically about the Eucharist. Does that original untechnicality of two centuries furnish grounds for the technical inventions of the next, and furnish obligation to us to accept these later philosophizings as having primitive binding authority to interpret Christ? Rather it is conformable to the simplicity of the rite, adopted in obedience and trust, on much the same lines as our Catechism, as an act of worship seeking union with Christ by whole-hearted devotion, offering what may truly be called sacrifices of gifts, praise, and thanksgiving, and the worshippers' whole selves. But if the elaborate theories started by Augustine, and developed by Paschasius and the

* 'The Holy Communion,' by Darwell Stone, pp. 49-51. London, 1904.

† De Officiis, i. 248.

Schoolmen and Innocent, are pressed as certain truths, the dogmas must explain themselves.

I shrink from the necessary question, but it is necessary. It is not a question about mysteries. The mystery of grace will always be there. It is a question about ambiguities in man's words, which bar any judgment of the theories. Is the Body of Christ, of which the Real Presence is taught, the natural Body that walked the earth, or the dead Body on the cross, or the glorified Body in Heaven? Is Its presence local by movement from some other place, and if so, from whence? The dogma involves such different problems according to different answers that an answer to these questions must precede discussion. I am not proposing to discuss it now, but use it as my example of an ambiguously stated dogma, which requires more exact statement before it can claim acceptance for dogma. It is not on Presence, or Body, or Sacrifice that difference exists, but on their meaning. So far as I know, all agree that spiritual blessing comes to the faithful in the Sacrament, and also that it only comes to the faithful prepared soul. *λογικὴ λατρεία* may be satisfied with these consents.

FASTING COMMUNION.

Of the rule of Fasting Communion, received as an obligation of precept, not as *λογικὴ λατρεία*, I wish to speak first, on account of the bad result of its exaggeration; secondly, to add to my long treatment in my Second Charge* some more consideration of its authority. *λογικὴ λατρεία* welcomes any practice which devotion finds an aid, and early Communion before breakfast will have to many a freedom from distraction, which is one aid to spiritual devotion. But ceremonial abstinence, as a rule, or obligation of precept, irrespective of any benefit, is very different. Its effect is constantly to disable the attentive devotion of worshippers not specially strong in body, while the still more generally disastrous result attends it where clergy are possessed with this idea of a Rule, that they simply excommunicate arbitrarily lifelong communicants no longer able to conform to their rigid rule. And

* See above, pp. 68-73.

yet what is the rule, and where is it found? Let me recall to you that in 1893* the Bishops, after full consideration, declared that no rule of obligation existed. Mortal sin had been alleged in any who communicated after food. This was explained not to mean Manichæan ideas, but that it was mortal sin not to keep a Church rule; but no rule was produced. In 18[93] the insistence on the rule revived acutely 'on account of the doctrine,' but what doctrine was kept secret. It has only been since then that the doctrine of a Bodily Presence in the elements has been put forward in England as necessitating the rule to prevent profanation. But no rule has been produced.

The authority still quoted is a paper† which I criticised in my Second Charge and, in view of the mischief of the practice, I must repeat and amend what I then said.

First: In order to throw the rule back to the Apostles, and claim it to be universal from them, Father Puller argues that no Canon ordering the fast, which could account for the rule, existed before A.D. 400, and therefore the rule must have been immemorial, and therefore Apostolic. But the Council of Carthage, where Augustine was predominant, had in A.D. 397 just made such a Canon. It was for the celebrant priest only, and was only an African Canon, only accepted in Africa. But Augustine's part in the Council makes it impossible for him to speak of it as Apostolic or S. Paul's, and the argument will not stand. It is admitted that the Latin Church and the Alexandrian in A.D. 385 had not the rule. Some Spanish local Canons are also quoted in later centuries, but also only for celebrants. No Canons about communicants generally are produced. When the medieval theory of the Eucharist was invented, it may have caused a custom, but not earlier.

Second: The days and hours of Fasts and Eucharists are very fully treated in the paper referred to, but the bearing of this is simply inverted and quite irrelevant to the purpose. On

* The date was left blank in the manuscript, but it probably refers to the Report of a Committee of the Upper House of Convocation of Canterbury (of which the Bishop was a member) On the Fasting Reception of the Holy Communion. The Report was adopted by the House on May 5, 1893.

† See above, pp. 70 and 78.

fast-days of the Stations or Lent the Eucharist could not be celebrated before three o'clock in the one and sunset in the other. On festivals there was no fast, and the Eucharist could be at dawn or even *antelucanis cœtibus*. But that did not mean that the fasts were ceremonial preliminaries of the Eucharist, but that they dominated the Eucharist, which could not break the fast, while on Sundays there was no fast to prevent the earliest Celebration. Montanists observed the Celebration at three o'clock, even on Stations; and Tertullian* taught them to prolong the fast till sunset, by taking the Eucharist home with them to eat after sunset. The fast was the principal thing. It was not a preliminary to the Eucharist.

Third: I will speak now of the Canons of Hippolytus, which are alleged as prescribing Eucharistic fast, but are really against it. Unless some edition has superseded that of Dr. Achelis, the quotations are strangely inaccurate. It is known to you all that the Apostolical Constitutions appear to be based on these Canons; but the first translation presented a list of the Canons, of which three are said not to appear in the Constitutions. One of the three is that on fasting Communion. Either that was added to the list later than A.D. 360, or it was rejected in the compilation of the Constitutions. That would only be a question of date, if the two forms of the Canon in the two parallel documents did not present a very different idea from fasting Communion. Ceremonial fasting for two days is, you know, ordered before Baptism in the Constitutions, but none before the Eucharist. So for those baptized, of whose adult Baptism the Eucharist formed a final part, this fast was continued till after the Eucharist, as the completion of their Baptism. The Lenten fast before Easter, too, is not to be abridged.

But of personal Communion the Canons† speak on this wise: 'Let no believer taste anything, without having first taken of the mysteries.—Let the faithful be careful to take of the Eucharist before he has tasted anything, for if he takes it, if anyone gives him deadly poison, it will have no power to

* De Orat., 19.

† Canons of Hippolytus, xxviii. 'Let the faithful . . . hurt him' is an addition in the second parallel form of the Canon, given by Dr. Achelis.

hurt him.' The injunction is the positive one, to partake always before food—not the negative one, never to partake after. The motive is not ceremonial reverence, but as protection against 'death in the pot.' In some periods it might be called 'as a charm': rather, say, as grace or εὐχαριστία before meat. A like prescription is given in 'the Testament of our Lord': 'Always let the faithful before he eat take care that he partake of the Eucharist, that he may be incapable of receiving injury.'* This makes certain, what the argument of the passage does not leave doubtful, that when Tertullian,† Hippolytus's master, used the phrase, *ante omnem cibum*, he meant, not before breakfast, but before every meal. The argument that the heathen husband could not fail to see what his wife ate *ante omnem cibum* would be a strong argument, if she took it before every meal with him present, but no argument at all if she took it at any time before breakfast in the dark. What would mark to him any principle of its being before all food? When people use solemn phrases about her eating what she has brought home, and call it reserved Eucharist, and say she communicates herself, such exaggerations are their own. Those who acted under Tertullian's direction had attended the public Eucharist and taken it when given them there.‡ The superstitious abuses of the practice in the Middle Ages caused it to be abandoned, though the idea continues in *pain béni* carried away from Latin Churches for like uses. It is strange that people who desire even rabbinical minutiae for reverence should advocate what they call reservation at home.

And now I will speak of S. Chrysostom and S. Augustine, whose cases are strangely parallel. Both have left a dozen large volumes, both have written fully about the Eucharist, and also about fasting; but only in one passage is either claimed to speak of fasting Communion, and in both cases the passage is in a letter to a private nobody. S. Chrysostom's letter to Cyriac§ is held by its critical editor to be spurious; if it were his, it would still be inexplicable that his only

* ii. 25.

† Ad uxorem, ii. 5.

‡ Basil, Ad Cæsariam, vol. iii., p. 267. Paris, 1839.

§ Ep. cxxv. See above, p. 81.

utterance should be such, and when it refuses to condemn Communion after food, lest he should thereby condemn Christ himself, he shows no idea that there was apostolic rule on the subject. His idea of such ceremonial rule is clear from his remarkably strong passage when he emphasizes the greater duty of maintaining the Lenten purificatory fast after the Easter Communion than of observing it before. S. Chrysostom shows rather that the idea of fasting reception as obligatory was quite new then, and one that he could not assert as having authority.

S. Augustine is no doubt presented in a different attitude, which requires exact consideration. A paragraph in his letter to Januarius is the authority quoted in the Decretal. . . .*

* * * * *

[In this charge the stars represent blanks left unfinished by the Bishop.]

S. Basil about A.D. 380 speaks, like Hippolytus, both of the African monks and even laymen taking many consecrated breads home and communicating themselves, and directs, as he does, that daily necessary food requires *εὐχαριστεῖν πρότερον καὶ οὕτως μεταλαμβάνειν*—*prius gratias agere Deo et ita domum sumere*†—to say grace before every meal. But with all S. Basil's inculcation of fasting, not a word does he say of fasting reception of the Eucharist.

The Decretum which gives the only rule not limited to celebrants belongs to the thirteenth century, after all the false decretals and other like works, and the rule has no authority attached to it, except the disputed paragraph of S. Augustine. Bishop Stubbs allows the Decretum no legal obligation in England.

Just three centuries after the Council of Carthage Theodore issued in England a Penitential, as a Greek who could contrast Greeks as stricter than Romans in their rules about the Eucharist; and he prescribes as penance for 'taking the Sacrifice after food' a week on bread and water. This penalty is unaltered for the most habitual offenders. But his next

* This unfinished portion involved a point of research about which the Bishop was in correspondence with Dr. Kenyon. It is to be hoped that Dr. Kenyon will continue the investigation.

† *Op. cit.*, vol. ii., p. 387. Paris, 1839.

rule orders the same penance for unintentional fasting on Sunday, only for that fault he adds, for one repetition twenty days, for two forty, and for deliberate and habitual contempt of Sunday festivals or appointed feast-days extermination from the Church. By the side of this a week's abstinence hardly marks mortal sin ; and reception after food was a fault allowed to have dispensation.

I cannot sympathize with rigorous insistence on a practice devoid of primitive authority, and by its personal nature fitted for individual rather than general adoption. To call it necessary for reverence is to condemn generations of holy men and women who have been examples of inspired and inspiring devotion all my life, and who have centred their worship on constant Communions and found in them their religious strength and blessing in a λογικὴ λατρεία too spiritually absorbing to think of the artificial rules and accessories with which modern Roman teachers have enveloped the sacred simplicity of the Eucharist. Deeper reverence does not exist now, if there exist such λογικὴ λατρεία.

To assert so vigorously . . .

* * * * *

PART II.—COUNCIL

SYNODS AND CONVOCATION.

This part opens in the manuscript with a passage of almost the same words as the opening passage on p. 287. They are omitted here, and the Charge is resumed from the point at which the repetition ceases.

You will remember that in a Diocesan Conference paper three years ago our Chancellor could give no authority for Synod legislation,* and the Conference committee appointed to consider its expediency reported against any revival of the old (said to be) lapsed Synod, though it took upon itself to assure me that the clergy would gladly meet me if I called them to an unconstitutional Synod. Meanwhile, writers who claim to be somebodies have repeated as a Church maxim that Bishops are

* Southwell Diocesan Conference at Derby, October 15, 1901.

constitutional. I hoped to learn the latest judgment on this, but my inquiries only brought the reply that constitutional did not mean constitutional in the sense of any constitutional limitations existing to his authority apart from Statute law, but only that a good Bishop should not be too autocratic, but should limit himself. Almost simultaneously two prominent Churchmen issued a declaration* against lay constituents in any Church assembly, and in it, by a footnote, as of an afterthought, told us that in Diocesan Synods presbyters were constituent members, though in larger ones, and more particularly in Provincial, such presbyteral status as that of the Lower House of Convocation was without any Church precedent. Here I hoped certainly to get an answer about a point so markedly presented as having had special attention. But I have only been referred by one to another, and am still in the dark as to the clergy theory on the point. I am disappointed, but not dismayed. I should be content to learn your opinions as unautocratically as could be desired. But, in fact, on this occasion no question arises, for, Synod as it is, it is in the periodic form to which all statutes have reserved whatever jurisdiction attached to Episcopal gatherings under the name of Visitation.

It is surprising to find how much the same were the subjects discussed in Bishop Wordsworth's Synod as those discussed now. You would in many subjects hear my opinion better in his words, and my own previous utterances would be fresher in forecast about other problems than any new words of mine. Discussion has been marking time, like diplomacy, while revolution has advanced at double-quick pace. The disparagement of the English Church, of which I spoke in our last Conference, is more pronouncedly expressed by a writer in official position, who speaks of the English Church as 'two provinces of the Church of Christ,' and in the theory that no particular Church can have customs of its own or give up customs of other Churches. These are the representative views of the modern dominant Roman party. I will not repeat my own already thrice-repeated statements of the

* 'The Proposed Representative Church Council.' Signed by W. J. Birkbeck and others, *n. d.*

historical reality and meaning of National Churches and their recognised variations in usages. I will refer you to the paper on the subject lately issued by the Bishop of Gibraltar,* representing the Church Historical Society, which is no ultra-Protestant association.

The Dioceses of England are Dioceses of the Catholic Church, but not as separate items of that, but as members of a constituted body with a united life, as one distinct entity with many parts, which has from the first had an individuality of its own, recognised by the other Churches on the occasions of medieval Western Councils, when England was one Nation among the five constituent Nations of the Council. It is a new fancy for Englishmen to yearn for absorption in a foreign community, and to insist on foreign customs and ideas because they are foreign. When the parochial clergy of England are invited to consider whether their position was not better before the Reformation, some ignorance must be supposed either in the questioner or the questioned. 'This Church' may seem to have held a more dominant place as a Body, the Bishop and the monasteries may have had whatever Popes allowed, until the régime brought the Reformation. But the parish clergy had no privilege to be coveted now. Their personal influence and opportunity never had such openings and request as half a century ago. It may be growing now, though I do not see it.

An old man does not always forecast rightly the tendency of another generation. But while development seems to run, whether as regards books, or spread of ideas, or promise of ability in the rising generation of clergy, in one or two lines of change—either of non-theological sociology or of medieval rule and ceremonial—I cannot help seeing over against this the revival also of the two marked English religious sentiments: reality against ceremonial rules, and fixity against openness of doctrine. I view with some anxiety the policy of diverting attention from ceremonial irregularities by attacks upon liberalizing theology. I do not feel it likely that the mass of English lay opinion will gravitate in that direction, though

* 'The Rights of a particular Church in matters of Practice,' by Dr. Collins, S.P.C.K., 1904.

there may very likely result in England, as seems the case in France and Germany, that violent unsettlement of traditions which may cause a reaction to unquestioning submission to authority. I doubt that becoming general. We are told of catastrophes in the world of Nature in which, with no preparation, or evolution, or apparent account, a whole race is extinct all at once. The American bison is the chief example, the passenger pigeon another. The American Indians, if not all savages surrounded by civilization who are not artificially protected, at some time feel the world too much against them, and will not live any longer. Ideas and institutions are even more subject to this sudden disappearance, as anachronisms that are at one moment seemingly in full vitality and the next have passed, and the waters have closed over them, and no one feels their absence. I cannot help fearing that there is hollowness in some Church imaginations of our own, which may any day wake up to find that there is no solidity behind them, and that their apparent advance means that the world is not taking account of them, but lets them drift out of relation to actual life till they fall to pieces and are gone.

Archæology is not life, and customs claim maintenance, not for antiquity, but for use. Voyagers to Laputa should stay there—*absit omen!* But that at this moment the keenest Church interest should be spent on considering, not ‘Will this or that proposed measure be for the good of the Church in her present circumstances and work?’ but ‘Did such an organization ever exist in the primitive Church?’ is simple hypnotism, whether the promulgators are hypnotized themselves, or are hypnotizing their followers into playing with shadows as if dealing with facts. Archæology is not authority or law.

We may consider Church government either in regard to our own Church or to all Churches. It is a prevalent assumption or preconception that Christ established a Divine system of government for His Church on earth, which must therefore be unalterable. If He did so, which is assumed rather than proved or agreed, it must be admitted that the constitution is nowhere so stated, that it has not been disputed. But, assuming that He did so, where did it take effect? Must it

therefore be unalterable? Is it in accord with any principle of legislation for men that any ordinances should be unalterable in all changes of times? If He did make a constitution for Synods, it applied, I suppose, to the first meeting recorded, at which S. Matthias was elected by individual voting of all the disciples.* Was this changed in Acts xv.? That may be ambiguous. I see that S. Peter spoke after πολλή συζήτησις. and then τὸ πλῆθος ἐσίγα. And at the conclusion 'it seemed good to the Apostles and the elders with the whole Church to choose men out of their company. . . .' Does τὸ πλῆθος mean the Apostles and elders? or had it no part in the questioning from which it ἐσίγα? What had the Apostles and elders more than the whole Church to do with the action on S. James's decree? The Revised Version solves the disputed verse by omitting καὶ οἱ, but translating (I do not say rightly) οἱ πρεσβύτεροι ἀδελφοί into 'the elder brethren,' as if they were unofficial.

If there is this Scriptural ambiguity about the Divine constitution of councils, how was its certainty developed? Much ecclesiastical development is utterly natural for wise men to base on secular or religious institutions, of synagogue or magistracy or offices. If the Divine constitution meant all the historical developments that have ever appeared, what is the living principle that limits and defines it? In the councils of the early centuries . . .

* * * * *

I can find no evidence for any form of government being constituted by Christ, otherwise than on the preconception that He must be presumed to have made one, and that the *de facto* organizations which became established must have existed *de jure* by His appointment. That the Historic Episcopate (in Lambeth Conference phrase) was almost from the Apostles' time the universally accepted Church government seems certain. But that it was an ordinance of Christ's seems an assumption, and it is very difficult to assign system or any but natural varieties to the constitutional limitations of the

* Acts i. 15-26.

Bishop. Ignatius and Cyprian are personal illustrations, but are only points in a natural development. What parts belonged to presbyters, deacons, and laymen must be interpreted more from the manners of similar secular assemblies than upon preconceptions of premature ecclesiastical specialties. Before the State joined the Church, the home communities settled by what best agreement they could get; and for General Councils, when the State called them, Churches were represented by their Bishops, who on certain occasions were directed by State authority to select and bring some presbyter associates. And when a leader was not a Bishop, as Athanasius and Augustine, he was a leader still. It is an assumption to speak of 'the best precedents of the Church' in regard to membership—even constituent membership—of these early Church meetings. Much later history is read into primitive times.

Now, about Doctrines the testimony of the Post-Apostolic age has unique value. Doctrines depend on exact terms of teaching, which depend on being taken exactly at the time from the teacher himself. Liable to variations of statement as they pass from disciple to disciple, they can only claim permanence if so authenticated in proved exactness. The witness of eye and ear to the teacher's actual words and acts is everything. Nearness to the source is vital. But this is of very different importance in regard to System. System rests on practical principles which can be understood and followed, not on precise words. System must grow. Even if we knew much more than we do about primitive Church rules, it would still remain our business to look at the present more than the past, and to show our belief in the past by adapting its growth to the future. Before the State accepted the Church, of course, they were not connected, but that was not the ideal but the germinal Church condition. From the moment they were friends their mutual influence grew, and 'the State had more to do with the councils of the Church'—first in the General Councils, and then in the National Councils. To speak of *undue* growth of State influence in Church matters is to beg the question; and so it is to speak of *confusion* between civil and ecclesiastical legislation, as if they ought normally to be

separate. Why ought religion to be more separate than other national interests? Who is to settle?

The English Church is our best instance. The joint action of Church and State in secular and ecclesiastical Councils is referred to the Continental precedents. If it were so, it would be a strong confirmation of a general tendency to such joint action. It was the common Teutonic habit. But no such reference to Continental precedents or customs is apparent. It appears as the natural relation from the first. Civil and Ecclesiastical measures were dealt with in the same assemblies and by the same persons as parts of one government. The administration of the Church was a separate Department under its own officials, but not the legislation. Kingdoms were the Dioceses, and their Councils were the Witanagemots. At the highest conciliar level, in the Councils of Hertford,* where the union of the Heptarchic Churches was secured by Theodore, and no common State action was possible, and at Hatfield,† where the business was with the Churches abroad, for the Church of England then just formed, to accept the five Œcumenical Councils and the Council‡ just held by Pope Martin, the Bishops alone formed the Councils. But in the Councils affecting England, even in those of Clovesho,§ the contemplated seat of regular Synods, and even in the Legatine Councils of the eighth century, Kings and nobles took part and signed as members.

The tendency was to develop, not diminish, their joint action. The early stage is summed up by Bishop Stubbs,|| whose historical integrity is only tinged with preconceptions of the Alcuin Club; the ecclesiastical legislation of Ine, Alfred, Ethelred, and Canute was, equally with the temporal, transacted with the Council of the Witan. Even the more distinctly ecclesiastical Synods, which, like the Councils of Clovesho, issued Canons and spiritual Dooms of their own, admitted the great counsellors of the kingdoms to their sittings, and allowed their acts to be confirmed by lay sub-

* A.D. 673

† A.D. 680.

‡ Lateran Council, A.D. 649.

§ Eighth Century.

|| 'Constitutional History,' vol. i., chap. vi., § 53, p. 129, ed. 1875.

scriptions. That the spiritual Witan prepared the enactments there can be no doubt; but it would be unsafe to argue in reference to the spiritual Dooms of the general Witanagemots that this participation of the lay Witan was admitted simply to give public or legal ratification to the resolutions of the clergy. It is more probable that the distinction between spiritual and temporal authorization was very lightly drawn. The Legatine Councils of A.D. 787, which in their very nature were entirely ecclesiastical, were attended by Kings and ealdormen, as well as by Bishops and abbots, and must therefore be reckoned as true Witanagemots.

Prepossessed by the Alcuin Club, the Bishop* feels that it could only be by condescension of the clergy that Kings and statesmen took part in Church matters, but his integrity as historian makes it clear that the most entirely ecclesiastical Councils were true Witanagemots where Kings and nobles asked no leave of clergy to take their own part in what was their own business. Two centuries later, the Bishop proceeds, 'whether purely conciliar action ceased, or whether the assimilation of the National Witanagemots to the older Ecclesiastical Councils renders it difficult to distinguish between lay and spiritual assemblies, the result is the same. There are few, if any, distinctly ecclesiastical Councils of the tenth century in England, and every royal code contains large ecclesiastical regulations. The abundant bodies of Canons which exist are clad either in the form of Constitutions, such as those of Odo and Edgar, or of private compilations, such as those of Ælfric. It would almost seem as if the union between Church and State had become so intimate as to supersede one of the most important functions of the former. . . . It is, perhaps, most probable that business of both sorts was transacted in the same assemblies, as was done in the Councils of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.'

Such is the testimony of our great constitutional historian to the union of Church and State in England till the Conquest introduced the foreign principle of this separation, at least in judicature. I will not call it an English Church custom, because I believe Spain and Germany resembled England in

* *Loc. cit.*, vol. i., chap. viii., § 89.

their united Councils. But uniformity in such conciliar relations was clearly not essential, and history presents the English Church from the first through its English period as not legislating for itself separately from the State, and only holding Diocesan Synods as part of administration.

The Norman Conquest changed this. The Provincial and National . . .

* * * * *

None of these foreign usages give any place for the specially English form of Provincial Council which we know by the name of Convocation, with its separate House of Clergy, some official, some in the unique English character of elected representatives. The representative idea was not before invented, and what presbyters had been at greater Councils were selected, not elected. No such ecclesiastical Synod had ever existed for Church matters. Whether Church or State first invented representative elections may be a question, for the spiritual and temporal councils so formed appear in history almost at the same time. The same object that caused Parliament caused presbyters to be called to Convocation—taxation. The clergy were taxed separately, and had been found less able to resist extortionate pressure so soon as Popes ordered subsidies for Kings and crusades. In the last half of the thirteenth century the King's insolvency and misgovernment brought the principles of Magna Charta into practice.

Cathedrals and monasteries had been represented as well as the chief dignitaries. In 1254* the Bishops refused to tax the secular clergy without their consent, and a great Council was held at Westminster, at which four knights of each Shire and some clergy from each Diocese were asked what contributions their Bodies would give. Archbishop Kilwardby advanced the formation of the Lower House of Convocation by directing the Bishops to bring with them Proctors for all their clergy to vote their subsidies, and Archbishop Peccham made 'at least two' the number for each Diocese. In 1283 a Great Council at Northampton determined on a Convocation, under a writ expressing the rule then devised and still in use. The purpose of the clergy summons was made clear in the

* *Loc. cit.*, vol. ii., chap. xv., § 199.

call. The Diocesan Synod was to have 'carefully expounded to them the propositions made on behalf of the King, and to send two Proctors in the name of the clergy, and one for each Chapter, with full power to treat upon the premisses,' etc. Archbishop Peccham's Constitution of 1279 was as definite, and has been conjectured to be identical: 'We charge that at our next Congregation at the time of the next Parliament, besides the persons of the Bishops and the Proxies of such as may be absent, two at least elected by the Clergy of each Bishopric do come with sufficient authority to treat with us concerning such things as may be for the common interest of the Church of England, if a proposal should be made concerning a contribution or expense.'

Bishop Stubbs* holds these proceedings as the origin of the Convocation of Canterbury. The Bishops being taxed as Barons separately, had no part in the clergy assent or refusal, and the clergy met separately as what is now called the Lower House of Convocation, which reflects its origin.

In 1295 Edward I. thought it would be simpler if the clergy were joined for the purpose to Parliament; but the clergy insisted on their separateness, and after twenty years' struggle were left to vote their own subsidies in their new Convocation. There has been confusion made between Edward's two Acts, and writers have attributed the origin of Convocation to his writs to Bishops to bring two clergy to Parliament, instead of to the older Act of the Great Council, issuing mandates to the Bishops to bring their clergy to vote subsidies in Convocation. But these writers were right in the main point, that our Convocation with its two Houses began under Edward I., on a mandate to bring representatives of the clergy together to vote their subsidies uniformly instead of by dioceses. It was originated, like Parliament, for money necessities by a Great Council. To simplify the business further, the King tried to unify the clerical with the lay representatives in Parliament. But this was not carried out. Like Parliament, the clergy saw that political position lay in the power of the purse, and like Parliament 'came with authority to treat concerning such things as may be for the common interest of the

* *Loc. cit.*, vol. ii., chap. xv., § 199.

Church of England, if a proposal should be made concerning a contribution or expense.' In this way they expanded the range of their discussions from only money to anything affecting the common interest of the Church of England. It is a moot question whether they were wise in declining Parliament. Nowadays the clergy of thirty dioceses would match the Irish party there. But their resolve created the Lower House of Convocation, and the same money power continued that House through the Reformation, and gave them their part in the Spirituality recognised by Henry VIII. as having rights in regard to Church legislation.

What is the practical force of the last three Canons of 1604, is of interest when National Synods are discussed, but it is of National Synods that they speak under the name of the Sacred Synod of this Nation. Provincial Synods have never been constituted of any but Bishops, though Van Espen* in the last clause of his long disquisition hints vaguely at possible members existing by custom. Archæologists may question whether the Lower House is part of a Provincial Synod and not of a State or Church Convocation (and I suppose they would be right) whatever was meant by the general term 'Convocation,' which at the time seems applied to include Parliament. But at any rate it is an English custom, and an English custom only, whether political or ecclesiastical. It has no descent from, or relation to, any primitive or Catholic or foreign Council known to history. Is such a purely English custom to be maintained? And that a custom of so mixed Church and State origin? And that one for political finance, not for Sacred Synod? I ask not you or myself, but the archæologists. Custom is an Englishman's law, and I do not quarrel with this custom more than with others. But has this particular Church a right to such a custom? I say yes. Do the archæologists say no? It is a clear, tangible example to test their principle. No Divine right can be claimed for it, nor can much ecclesiastical sacredness. But it is an existing custom, and, whether by time or by State recognition, may be called constitutional. That is the full character of our existing Convocation. No awful solemnity attaches to any modi-

* Author of '*Jus Ecclesiasticum Universale*.' Lived 1646-1728.

fication of it. There is no Church obligation to bar our considering simply what now, as things are, would be the best thing to do.

At present we have, apart from Diocesan Synods, two Provincial Convocations with two Houses, less distinct in one Province than the other, involving four separate assents to any Church measure proposed, and those under circumstances of time and place and persons and forms which constitute an absolute bar to any proceedings. Those who have once known the intricacies which complicate the smallest and most generally accepted issues can only marvel at the Machiavellian skill so simply embodied in innocent-looking forms, which for clergy (may I say for clergy only?) bristle with impossibilities at every step. No other examples of human nature rival the jealousies, the individualities, and the hair-splittings involved in passing a Canon through our four Houses. And yet personal explanations adjust and settle suspected points, if only the Houses meet. National Synods have not been held since the two Provinces were divided. Archbishops have published Constitutions and Legates have pronounced to National (but not consultative) Councils of Bishops, at some of which multitudes of presbyters and laity are said to have assembled as at a public concourse, to hear the Legate level to insignificance beside himself Bishops, clergy, and laity alike, as only summoned for acclamation.

English National Councils before the Conquest were, as I have said, Witanagemots of Bishops and statesmen. The 139th Canon of 1604 speaks of the 'Sacred Synod of this Nation,' but no occasion of its meeting as one Body is known. We know the great occasions when all the clergy were represented in joint concurrence to accept and present the Prayer Books. But they were not one body, but acted in joint concurrence. In those times the two Provincial Convocations retained still their original duty of conferring about their subsidies. But since 1664, when the clergy acquiesced silently, whether for political or financial reasons, in being merged in the general taxation and franchise of citizens, that duty has ceased; and no occasions of meeting exist, except on most

elaborate exchanges of interprovincial diplomacy. Archæologists may suggest that, their State business no longer existing, Churchmen who would follow the best precedents should dissolve so uncatholic an assembly, and leave Church legislation to the Bishops and statesmen who constituted the only National Councils ever known in the English Church. To me, who value a pound of fact above a ton of fancy, such a suggestion seems trifling. We have to begin with what exists, and though archæology and history may justify the Archbishops who suspended the action of Convocation from 1718 to 1852, the Church opinion which caused its revival has reconstituted its recognition. . . .

PART III.—BIBLE STUDY

BIBLICAL CRITICISM: THE OLD TESTAMENT.

Alarm is felt about the Criticism of the Bible, as if it were destruction of the character which has made the Bible the unique source of our religious ideas. I am more disposed to hope that reflecting Bible readers have by this time approached the third stage of that familiar aphorism about new knowledge, which says that novelties are first ridiculed as absurdities, next condemned as heresies, and last accepted as what everyone always knew. A child's teaching is of necessity given in broad lines suited to impress infant minds incapable of fine distinctions, and those broad lines are impressed as lasting preconceptions of great principles requiring or intended to be afterwards adjusted to realities. We may in actual children's nurseries speak of God's action in ways liable to raise embarrassing questions, and to create ideas for later years to unlearn; and this in spite of better knowledge of our own, because less broad lines would not be taken in as fundamental. It does take time and intelligence and trust to grow the truth out of shadows and exaggerations, and often a perverse mind will insist on misasserting its child teaching. The methods of poetry and art, too, which speak real truths of higher representative power than belong to matter-of-fact prose, are, for all that, responsible for mislead-

ing minds incapable of art and poetry. Pictures of Evangelists with their art-symbols, writing as under inspiration, are pictures of most real spiritual truths to the intelligent, but to the unintelligent they seem to present God as physically moving the writers, as machines, not as men. To the end, the disposition to esteem prose facts above poetic truths is one of the chief bars to intelligent study of spiritual realities, especially by the duller parts of the Teutonic race. 'Verging on the poetical' is taken to mean suspiciously near falsehood, though it is to poetry, not prose, that we more naturally attribute inspiration, as to a higher creative power of truths beyond common imagination.

The main difficulty attributed to Bible criticism may be said to arise from the ill-considered idea that inspiration means a revelation of physical facts of history or nature not otherwise known. I say 'ill-considered,' because it is not the idea which is wrong, but its interpretation. The principle of an apple's fall is an insight of genius by inspiration. The principle of a historic combination is an insight of genius by inspiration. But the facts to be interpreted in either case are matters of senses and observation, and we have no faculty for communicating about facts out of reach of experience, direct or indirect. This distinction is not always made, but the child's picture idea of God writing the Bible with His own hand has been in various shades and degrees the unanalyzed conception of the uneducated, and, until lately, of the easily satisfied half-thinkers among theologians. Yet I think that the time has been long past since any but the most simple and ignorant Bible readers would not have readily shown in a few questions and answers how much has been familiar, if not obvious, to them in what is called alarming Bible criticism. They would call the Bible 'The Book,' as one Book, to them the one Book, even, it may be, their one Book, which could dispense with others, a Book by itself, a Book from heaven; but if questioned they would not say that the Bible fell down from heaven, like the image of Ephesus, or originated as they knew it, bound and printed in English. They would speak of the Book of Genesis, the Book of Exodus, the Books of Samuel, the Book of Psalms, etc., and allow that the one Book was

many books, as the Greek title calls it. The favourite modern phrase, the Library of Hebrew Literature, would sound artificial to them; but they have always had the Bible classified for them into heads, the Law, the Prophets, the Psalms, by their subjects, as in any library books would be sorted on their shelves by subjects, Law, History, Poetry, Theology, Science, etc.—each separate case or shelf containing books of its particular subjects by different authors of different ages, which might or might not be placed in chronological order.

The Laws of any nation, the Hebrew as of others, are the growth of centuries, embodying changes in continued progress, but at intervals in some nations codified and rectified up to date. It would show no goodness in laws of State or Church that they should be unchanged with changes of time. Primal principles abide, but details of rites or customs or enactments must change. Three stages of legislation stand quite naturally together on the shelf of Jewish Law. Recent critics may have distinguished more precisely the successive stages of Jewish legislation, but the name of Deuteronomy has always made familiar to us the first, and the name of Ezra has been associated always in our Jewish commentators with the later reconstitution.

The second part of the Library which critics have handled is that of History. From Samuel onwards they present no important change. That history is, no less than law, a continuous growth is too self-evident for anyone to have ever conceived that the records of Jewish Kings, etc., were written in one act of revelation. The religious part of the historical books is in the lessons characterizing the events and persons, not in the facts of those events and persons, which are only special as the material for the continuous religious ideas which are the unique and also unaltered constituent of the history. The distinction of several sources combined in the final compilation does not diminish but increases the evidence of the facts, by exhibiting, not one, but two authorities, and those regarded as showing by their agreements and differences the earlier existence of a common source extending farther back in time beyond the authorities used by the compiler. Bible readers have been always accustomed to two versions of the

history in the Books of Kings and Chronicles, without any disparagement of Bible authority. The different colouring of sentiments in those two accounts is no less than in the framework which Ezra may have made for the older history in his reconstitution of the Sacred Books, which used a century ago to be the precedent alleged by scholars to justify the idea of Homer having been arranged by Pisistratus. The separation which criticism has made of this later editor's framework from the older material edited by him will remove from students' minds many perplexities which have been familiar stumbling-blocks in Bible study.

But though this is the criticism which has startled Bible-readers most, I do not think that intelligent students will feel that their idea of the special character of the Bible is altered, from what they have long learnt to be the meaning of inspiration. What has been the special character of the Bible? It is the source of our religious ideas and feelings. No change is made in this. The Bible is one in this, and this makes the Bible. Through each kind of literature in it, through every writer's work, in some as an immediate topic, in others as the atmosphere or living background, the one God, Holy, Just, and True, and commanding men to do justly, to love mercy, and to walk humbly with their God, is the pervading specialty, in which it stands alone. No criticism touches this. Critics' careful study has shown that this unity of religious spirit is not due to a redactor's colouring thrown over the past by a late believer, but marks the race from its self-attributed origin. Two names mark two descents of the one belief, whether modified consciously in idea or no, and God and Lord are left in the earliest records apart, as no harmonizing redactor would have left them.

So the faults of patriarchs, and the rising scale, I do not say of morality, but of duty, are not qualities of national romance. Of the Book of Judges no Bible reader can ever have made a connected story, or have imagined a general chronicle placing the separate tribal legends in any order. It is a folklore of an indefinite period, of which the stories stand apart in time and space, and the collection of them into a series or chronology is marked by a monotonous repetition of particular formulæ

of moral history, which do not, however, stand in exact relation to the religion forming a natural part of the stories. Attempts at chronology have been the schoolboy's puzzle since examinations began; and the interest in adventures of border patriots or fanatics cannot prevent devout Bible readers from seeing in those shapeless days of violence their one lesson against misrule. Still, all through the stories the religious spirit of the whole Bible runs, if in early forms, and the critics do not touch any reader's old associations.

Still more fully is this true of the primarily religious Books, the Prophetic, the Poetic, the Philosophic. Speaking generally, critics do not affect these. That Psalms and Proverbs and other poems stand as collections representing the growth of literature over long time, and admitting of being traced to many authors, is of no consequence to their character, though it adds literary interest for students. If some of the historic compilations be traced by critics to the greatest of these personal writers, such as Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, that cannot be felt to weaken the authority of those compilations, but to enhance it by those writers' greatness. On the other hand, literature which has its virtue in itself stands unchanged, if even so great a name as Isaiah be no longer given to the prophecies which are bound up with his, but of which the prophet is unknown to us.

Is not this true of the whole Bible? How is it changed? It is what it was. Some parts we have misunderstood. We have not known its history and construction. It is put before us now not as children, but as scholars. Its sublime religion is its sublime religion still, its sublime expression is its sublime expression still. Its inspiration has never rested on authority, except, of course, to the uneducated, who must rest on others for all their ideas. The evidence of it has been its unique power of 'finding' men's consciences. It is not due to racial supremacy in the Jews, but in despite of their low esteem as a nation, that their sacred Books have commanded the admiration, if not the obedience, of peoples of most different times and countries, as the highest appeal to human conscience. Half a century ago the sacred Books of the other Book religions were translated. Critics expected to set rivals to the Bible

before progressive students of religion, who looked at least to find the one religion testified not unequally by the non-Jewish systems. The conclusion expressed by the very open-minded and scientific editor* of the series was : 'The unique power of the Bible is best shown by setting it beside the other sacred books of the world.' That unique power is not changed by the critics.

No particular contrast exhibits this more clearly than the Babylonian legends found resembling the early stories of the Bible. If the Hymn of Creation in Genesis was derived from the Babylonian legend, and not simply parallel to it, it is scarcely possible to exaggerate the transformation from the evolution of the Babylonian gods to the first chapter of Genesis. It is different with the story of the Flood, which was of known antiquity at Babylon, and though from two Jewish sources, differs much less in details, and is the same legend in all reasonable probability, though too early to be borrowed by these two sources. It only shows more markedly the absolute religious difference, while one of its sources is pre-exilic. The Garden of Eden and the Fall have found as yet in the monuments no Babylonian parallel, for pictures with tree and serpent have a wide religious range of different origin ; nor has the Tower of Babel been found in the monuments. The mounds of Babylon may produce parallels very possibly, but at this time the relations assigned by the critics to these two series are obscure. What is said of the Tower of Babel, that it is the Hebrew folklore account of languages, seems applicable to the Creation and Eden and the Fall, which do not require any account from Babylon, and as yet have none.

But whatever community of Semitic philosophy about the origins of the world and man and civilization there be, the religious element is utterly different in the two series of stories as we have them. If they were Pagan in other Semitic forms, the Jewish religion only stands out the more markedly as a distinct profession. Few intelligent students suppose history possible for the world's Origins, or attach meaning to imaginations of them beyond the idea or belief or allegory expressed in them. If such a preface to the History of the

* Professor F. Max Müller, 'Sacred Books of the East.'

Jews were worthy of inspired writing before the Babylonian discoveries, these discoveries do not affect its worthiness. The critical analysis of its compilation has its special literary interest. But its bearing is not certain. Take the Tower of Babel. There is no Babylonian confirmation. But in the Greek history* it follows the passage about Xisuthros and the flood. Did Berosus get it from the Bible? Obviously Xisuthros is not Noah's name. We cannot, then, argue yet that Babylonian tablets do not contain the story of Babel, though undiscovered yet. This is of no consequence in itself, but it is an example warning not to be premature in settling that no other early Bible account exists undiscovered in the monuments.

We are told, too, that the early Chaldæan Kings were styled 'Of the four races' or 'the four tongues.' Rawlinson, in 1862, wrote that the four great varieties of human speech—Hamite, Semitic, Aryan, Turanian—appeared to have left their marks on the heterogeneous language spoken 2000 B.C.† Does this tradition come from the Bible or from what descent? Again, Kouyunjik tablets begin in the eighth century, later than the first sources of the Bible. Where is Izdubar‡ (or whatever he is said to be now) recorded earlier? That the general character of the prefatory twelve chapters of Genesis represent ideas, not events, has, I imagine, been long generally accepted; and that such a preface of preparatory poetry or allegory is a reasonable introduction to the history of one great idea or religion has been equally accepted. Pictures of palæolithic men would be a distinct interest, no doubt, but it would not be a special preface for religion. The corner of the world in which the Bible arose was small and undistinguished, and neither Babylon nor Egypt would regard either Jews or Bible as worth record. But the Bible is there, and now holds the attention of the civilized world. No other book has grown like it to concentrate upon itself the world's

* History of Babylonia, by Berosus, in the time of Alexander the Great. Xisuthros is a King of Babylon in his version of the Deluge.

† 'The History of Herodotus,' edited by G. Rawlinson, vol. i., p. 444 n. 2. London, 1858.

‡ A King of Babylon, who possibly represents Nimrod.

intellect to revere or criticise, or both. Its great one idea has possessed the world. Is it that idea which is to be referred to Babylonian stories? Clearly not. That forms the distinguishing character which separates the literatures.

The alarm against criticism means the fear that criticism attacks the Bible belief or religion. There are atheists whose criticism aims at that. But their atheism has come from other lines of thought, and they do not represent the criticism of students devoted to establish the literary history of the unique Book of which that belief is the inspiration. Many elements of its literary history are still baffling inquiry, and deserving it. How it was first set down, on what material—stone, clay, brick, tiles, leather, papyrus? How and where kept, copied, published, preserved, transmitted? Was there one public record only read at seasons, or delivered as its keepers chose? Through how many revisions was the present form attained?

One chief element is not disputed, that the great Idea was inspired into human conception, and set down, preserved, transmitted, made known by human instruments, and subject to man's treatment of its record. Some past generations may have been wisely treated with assurances that God preserves His own, to the avoidance of such questions about human uncertainties. Doubts do not help the weak and ignorant who want some infallibility. But almost all would need but few questions to make them admit that, at any rate, the preservation, transmission, translations of the Bible have been committed to the care of a long series of many men. What agencies the Jews had for these services when records began, how the almost continuous redactions supposed by the most recent critics took place and obtained authority, is as yet unexplained, and requires some reasonable account if the Bible is examined like other books. Possibly some broader lines of analysis will some day combine the multifarious hands to which minute subdivisions of books are attributed. No other treasured literature bears marks of such a history. A great deal is admitted to be uncertain yet. But after the minutest sifting and keenest friction of students working, not

in conspiracy, but competition, on criteria, not of language which is strangely uniform, but of writers' phrases and style and points of view, a pretty general consent is attained on several principal conclusions, in which no reasonable literary difficulty is presented. The practical question which will arise concerns the Law. Will the analysis of its Library disturb its authority?

The ceremonial law of Leviticus, with its full system of Levites and Priests and High Priests, its limitation to the central Temple, and its elaborate details for sacrifices and seasons, is held proved to be the latest development for the Jews turned from exile. For even in the Exile it would have no place. But the prophetic view of the Exile would cause the priestly Ezekiel (to whom a great part is referred) to formulate, perhaps, old customs into future laws. That they were invented then is not said. But legislation to guard against the old national sins that caused the Exile was a natural provision, and it was Ezra's great public act to assemble the people to hear the Law read. It is not recorded to have been the old Temple system, but the national return cry was, 'To the Temple!' and magnification of the Temple would not have been alien to the occasion. The records of Ezra and Nehemiah cannot be said to make certain the circumstances or authors of the Levitical developments, but that it was post-exilic, and that its authors also made a framework to the other books of the Pentateuch, is the main result of this half-century of criticism. I cannot help saying that the chief puzzles that have tried Bible readers are due to this last recension. But remember that laws are made to be codified, and old records to be transcribed. The best edition of the whole series replaces the older, and even if we were not familiar with the idea that the Ceremonial Law was to pass away when it was fulfilled in Christ, even as a record the redaction of Leviticus was natural.

So with the parts yet unnoticed, the story of the Patriarchs and Moses in Egypt and the wilderness. If they were poems, they are poems grand as Homer, and as national hymns full of inspirations. But no knowledge that they are imaginary has been acquired. No monumental confirmations have

turned up, nor any contradictions. Meanwhile, critics see the marks of double sources of the tradition, and these supposed sources all of a date before Homer. It would not affect Divine truth, but only our knowledge of the history of those books, if they were composed in the Exile; but we have nothing else to show this but that we have not yet found confirmatory monuments, to demand which, I must frankly say, seems to me exigent in writers who only wish to treat the Bible as any other book, especially when no record or reason is alleged for these ancient national stories being invented or developed at the post-exilic or exilic stage. Our Babylonian gallery of monuments is scarcely archaic. Were there none earlier, or are they lost? Elam is said to have given up a pre-Abrahamic monument;* or is it of a contemporary? Did Ur of the Chaldees send Abraham out from monuments as well as idols? When the Moabite stone† was found, why was it alone in Palestine? Did the Turks strip all carved stones? Are Hittite and Assyrian stones read yet? Is there not a graven stone just now found?‡ We know a great deal more than we did about the Bible's history, but there is much more to know, and the kernel is nowise altered in the husk.

To no student ought there to be cause of alarm in Old Testament criticism; it will only be upon false issues. We have first to consider *what* signifies. What is the Bible to us? Is it the story of Abraham's family, and Moses' rule, and the two kingdoms? Is it not the great religious idea of the One God of Holiness and Truth which is the sole and whole life of the Book, and which is apart from any other religion or sacred book in the world, which transmutes the thoughts of Egypt, Babylon, and Greece, and has possessed Europe? Where else did this idea arise? or did it never arise at all? Of the written Books much is yet uncertain. Why are the phrases said to settle the Priestly Code all late inventions? Is it not a literary habit to imitate archaisms,

* Of Manistusu, 'King of Kis.'

† *Stele* of King Mesha (ninth century).

‡ In 1901-02, M. de Morgan, of the French Exploration Expedition, discovered at Susa a pillar in cuneiform with a code of laws, and a bas-relief under which is the name Hammurabi (King of Babylon 2250 B.C.).

too? I could not accept what I thought hasty arguments about Deuteronomy when Wellhausen came to us. Critics will, I suppose, still admit that much is still uncertain and complicated. But are not these simply literary questions to all who know the necessary history of records, and that the Bible was not written, published, printed, and bound in an English form by supernatural art spread over ages? The great Revelation lives and appeals to consciences as truth, like music to musicians; and its life bears all the recasting which ages have brought, with no change but interpretation to the teaching which has towered alone above all other religious thoughts.

BIBLICAL CRITICISM: THE NEW TESTAMENT.

I do not think New Testament Criticism yet in a position to criticise. Schleiermacher, Strauss, Baur, Renan, have tried their transformations with surpassing brilliancy and earnestness, which yet have all passed away as unreal imaginations. The mining processes by which present critics crumble at the basis of the New Testament can scarcely be said to have yet justified any new literary conclusions beyond their own inner circle. The broad handling of Abbé Loisy and Dr. Percy Gardner, one in idealizing the history, the other in supposing a faith emission by halo shadows into glorified reflection of the facts, seems as unsatisfactory as Strauss and Schleiermacher. I am in no hurry to plunge into depths too little known to me. Marvels claim study; we have all heard of (can I say? the blessings or only) the value and inevitableness of honest doubt, and its attendant inquiry. Critics and believers are alike liable to preconceptions, which some count the basis of history, others, with (I think) more reason, count fatal to it. Are Bishops to adjudicate or the world? *Securus judicat orbis terrarum.*

The Doctrines rather than the Books are the points of attack, and it is as impossible as I think it is untrue to condemn discussion of any doctrine. It is sadly true that controversies distress minds unprepared for suspense on great issues. But experience makes an increasing number of believing thinkers, who at earlier stages counselled reserve

out of considerateness, attribute to that reserve the shock of the issues, and see in free discussion the atmosphere for adjustments of truth without explosions. Bishops are called on to suppress clergy who raise questions; but it is more delicate casuistry in cases of belief than of obedience how far, in the interests of truth and trust, our Church system retains the service of clergy and the membership of laity whose views alter in any point. It is not so truly a question of personal honour as of Church system; and in our Church system casuistry has many complications in judging each case rightly for truth's as well as justice's sake. Men who have no claim to override the judgment of the Church may be rightly expected not to fling perplexities into the public arena, to assert a discovery of theirs or to liberate their conscience (as people call it)—‘to be somebody.’ Many questions have been raised over and over again, and new arguments only can justify fresh unsettlement. Still, this must be clear: discussion even of fundamental truths cannot be suppressed if we wish, and we ought not to wish it if it could. A Church debarred from discussion of serious questions adequately raised will have its convictions, however real, discredited as only obligations of tradition. Authority will be no bar in England to opinion; and the people's belief will be what the people believes.

Doctrines are not all of equal importance. To Christians the one central doctrine is the Incarnation. The chief critics whose writings I know profess belief in the Incarnation. That belief reduces to quite secondary place the doctrines which are its evidence. The modes of beginning and ending of the Incarnate Life on earth are only subsidiary to it. It has been, however, the Resurrection and the Birth which are disputed. About the Resurrection the old arguments remain with scarce change or addition. That miracles cannot happen is one side; that miracles did happen is the other. The impossibility of miracles is not so contemptuously asserted at this time as it was once. Advances in divers sciences have made the action of mind on matter recognised, and many acts called miracles are no longer called so; and evolution, chance

or mechanical, seems a less certain account of all varieties of existence, and unsuspected possibilities of creative origins tend to suspension of materialist dogmatism. What change is there in the evidence? Its strength is not in the illustrative incidents in the Gospels or even in the only list put together as evidence by S. Paul. The evidence is the assured first belief in the fact not only as stated by S. Paul, but as implied in the election of S. Matthias, and in all the early preaching recorded as the central foundation of the Church. Thirty years may make men careless of individual incidents when they are not thinking of proofs, but it is not enough to make men forget the principle of their Society's foundation. No one disputes the death of Christ, no one disputes the Christian community. What accounts for it? They say themselves the return of the well-known Presence, a matter for man's knowledge, and on their certainty of which they devoted their lives. There is no new argument to prove any more than to disprove, but distance alters the perspective, and across the history of nineteen hundred years the Church looms larger in evidence than any particular incidents, more or fewer. The existence and growth of the Church is its own witness to the truth of its foundations. Was it simply a religious *Thiasus* of the period? Where are all the other *Thiasi** which started with more popular advantages? . . .

* * * * *

The Virgin Birth† comes to us on like basis with the Resurrection, as the first common Belief; and disputing it is not disputing the particular statements on the point, but the common belief, the grounds of which may well not be recorded. The Divinity and Incarnation of Christ were the centre of that belief, but the mode and method of the Incarnation were naturally subjects for reserve. It must have been observed that during the Mother's life that reserve was unavoidable. It is not unnatural that the earliest Gospel and that of the innermost disciple are those which omit reference to it.

* Pagan mystic cults. See 'Exploratio Evangelica,' by P. Gardner, chapter xxvi. London, 1899.

† The following section exists only in a first draft, in an earlier stage of preparation than the preceding sections.

S. Paul asserts the Divine Sonship as shown in the spirit of power and holiness by the Resurrection. The Resurrection had the open witness of the circle of disciples. The Birth was secret. We have no grounds for saying, as if it were known, that a parent declared it. What we know is the early common belief in the Virgin Birth, and that common belief is what criticism has to disprove or overthrow. The belief, as critics tell us, was not created by the written notices, nor does it depend on them.

Still, there is a difference between the Resurrection and Birth of Christ in this respect. The belief in His Divinity may have led to an inference of the miraculous birth, and in early days some assigned the communication of Divinity to the descent of the Holy Ghost on the man Jesus at His Baptism. The record is more partial, from whatever cause. The evidence is by the nature of the case indirect. The importance of the particular miracle is not emphasized. That it was an essential point of the first common Faith is therefore less established than is the Resurrection. It appears that a particular set of thinkers now who believe the Divine Life of the Incarnate Son revert to the theory of an Incarnation by spiritual union or possession, whether in the Baptism or at some other time and way, as less materially unnatural. If not the same miracle, it is no less a miracle than the miraculous Birth. The recurrence of early substitutions of other modes is pointed to as invalidating the early belief in the Virgin Birth. But those substitutions evidence the existence of the belief for which they were to be substitutes, and the failure of the substitutions evidences that the existing belief was that of the Church generally. The miraculous Birth of Christ was part of the early common belief, though it does not carry the foundation character assigned to the Resurrection.

Our belief rests on that early common belief of the Church. That that common belief made its believers give their lives for it, and that the Church was built and has grown upon it, are its evidence of reality and its confirmation.

* * * * *

NOTE.—*The Bishop was compelled to lay down his pen on June 6. But through the long weeks of pain and weariness that followed his thoughts reverted constantly to his unfinished Charge. Even in the last hours of wandering, he often tried to give expression to the thoughts which had been so long maturing. But his voice was never again to be raised on earth in 'exhortation and doctrine.' One last lesson only it was given him by God to teach—the lesson of faith in God and of noble endurance through days of suffering, and of unselfishness in an hour when thoughts of self are condoned. Indeed throughout his illness his thoughts were entirely for others, especially for those in perplexity, sorrow, and need among his people.*

The Bishop's friends were unwilling that those who loved him should never see these fragments, though they are but fragments, so characteristic are they of his modes of thought, so certain to stir bright recollections of that vivid and courageous mind which is now in nearer enjoyment of the Wisdom of God.

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